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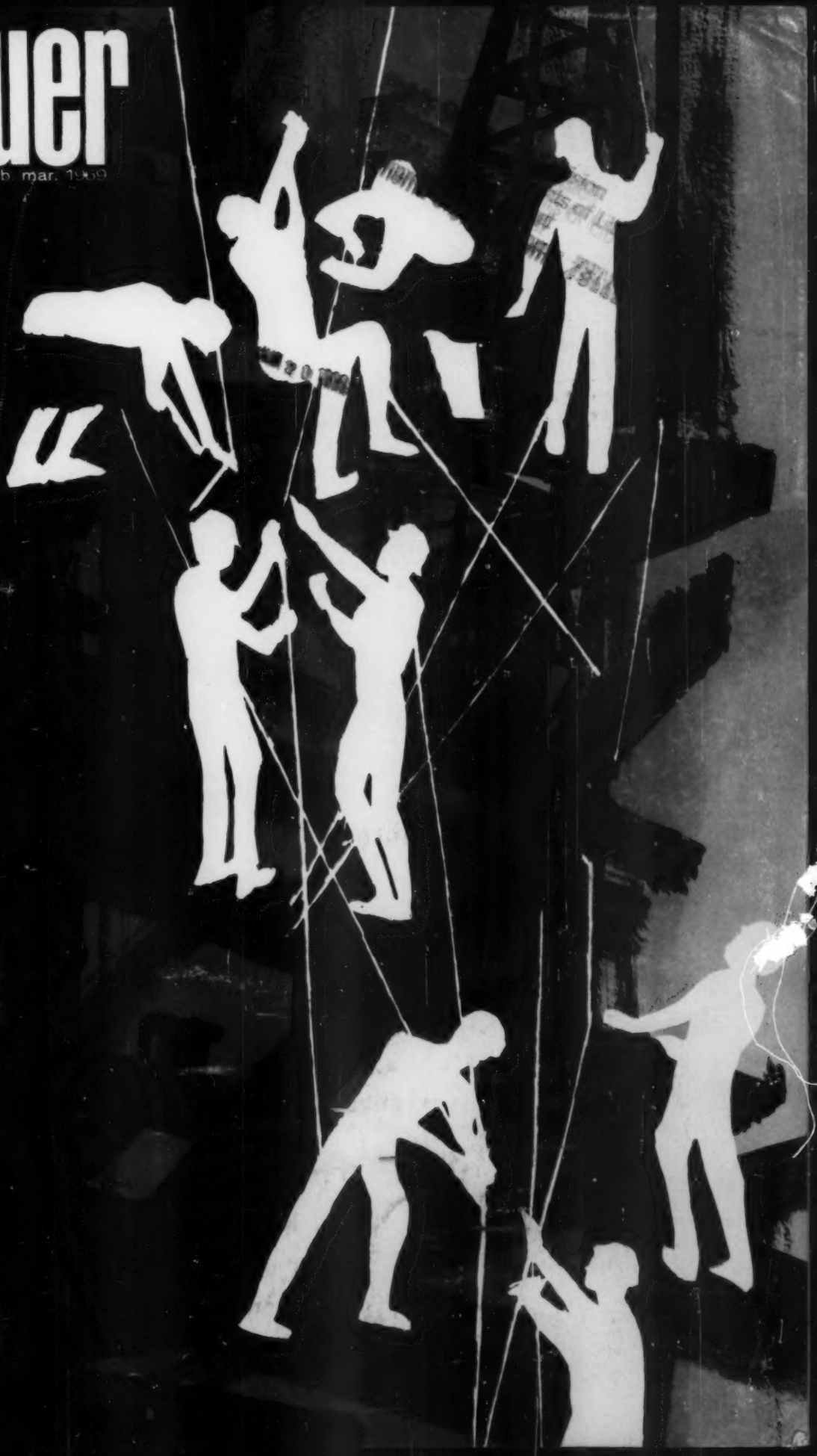

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Manpower Policy and National Goals

As I assume the post of Secretary of Labor it occurs to me that there are a number of issues commanding the attention of all those concerned with manpower problems, whether in Departmental headquarters, field offices, public employment offices, or in places of employment.

First are issues of race and employment. How can the large number of black citizens and others who have not shared in the bounty of America be brought more effectively into jobs that are useful to society and that have potential for personal and economic growth of the individual?

Second are issues of prosperity without inflation and, in particular for us, their relationship to collective bargaining and other forms of wage determination. How do we combine high employment and a stable price level with the consumer and corporate freedoms so important to the American economic and social system?

Third are issues created by the wide diversity of interests among individuals and institutions, a diversity undergoing constant change, producing stress and sometimes conflict. How can legitimate diversity of interests be better recognized and conflict accommodated without disruption to the more general social and economic order?

Fourth are issues of evaluation. Whether we are talking about governmental programs or the wide variety of private efforts to tackle important problems effectively, we need to assess continuously how well these efforts are working and what adjustments could be taken to make them more effective.

These are the issues to which I shall be addressing my attention and energies in the days to come. They underlie most of our domestic programs for combatting poverty, enabling more people to participate in the benefits of our affluent society, and stabilizing our economy. They involve the first and perhaps all of the goals set forth by President Nixon in his inaugural address when he said:

"In pursuing our goals of full employment, better housing, excellence in education; in rebuilding our cities and improving our rural areas; in protecting our environment and enhancing the quality of life; in all these and more, we will and must press resolutely forward."

George P. Shultz

Secretary of Labor

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THE WATTS TOWERS

The Watts Towers, the area's most famous landmark, were the product of a 33-year labor of love by Simon Rodia, an Italian immigrant laborer who created them out of iron pipe and concrete and what other people call junk -- bits and pieces of colored glass, tile, seashells, and broken dishes. An affirmation of man's individuality, Rodia's Towers were declared a cultural monument in 1963, 9 years after their completion and 2 years before their creators's death. "A man has to be good good or bad bad to be remembered," Rodia once said.

Lessons From Charcoal Alley

The Watts CEP—What's Happening and Why

By Norman Driscoll

On August 11, 1965, not many people outside Los Angeles had ever heard of Watts. Five days later, when the worst of the rioting that claimed 34 lives and destroyed large segments of the area was over, virtually everyone had. The riot stunned the Nation and awakened millions of people to the social unrest that exists in our cities.

The Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) in Watts has touched off no national headlines. Nevertheless, it merits attention and close study, because it has produced some interesting and useful insights into how the extensive social and economic problems that plague Watts and areas like it can be attacked.

Watts is a target area for the Los Angeles CEP, which is funded by the U.S. Department of Labor through the Economic and Youth Opportunity Agency (EYOA), the city's community action agency. EYOA in turn subcontracts with the California State Employment Service to provide manpower services.

The CEP opened for business in Watts in September 1967 on a street that has been known since the riots as "Charcoal Alley." It serves a target area where more than 11 percent of the potential labor force is unemployed and an additional 40 percent underemployed. About 90 percent of the residents could be classified as disadvantaged.

Mr. Driscoll was manager of the South Central Los Angeles Concentrated Employment Program Center for its first year of operation.

The CEP offers a program of orientation, counseling, support services, training, job placement, coaching, and follow-up. These activities are conducted at the CEP Center, staffed by 42 career employees of the California State Employment Service and 32 trainees from the Watts community, who themselves are part of a training program for the disadvantaged called New Careers.

After more than a year of operation, enough facts are available to support several valid hypotheses about the Watts CEP—what happened and why.

The Watts CEP deliberately set out to serve the most ill-equipped, militant, discouraged, and frustrated applicants that could be found in the community. After 8 months of operation, a statistical profile of the participants showed that:

- 25 percent had not completed elementary school.
- 50 percent more had not completed high school.
- 50 percent had been unemployed more than 6 months.
- 25 percent were previously on welfare.
- 50 percent of the men had arrest records.
- 75 percent of enrollees with drivers' licenses had outstanding tickets, fines, or warrants.

Businessmen who were approached about hiring the enrollees predicted not more than 1 in 5 would stick with the program. They were wrong. Turnover has been surprisingly small. After 9 months of operation, a survey showed that:

- 1,561 enrollees had been placed in training or in jobs.
- 1,031, *or 66 percent,* were still where we had placed them.
- 94 had switched jobs but were still in the program.
- 47 had left their jobs and had not yet been placed again.
- 389, or 25 percent, had left the program.

Of the 389 dropouts, 112 left successfully, that is, for a better job or to return to school. We lost contact with 238, and 39 left unsuccessfully, including some who went to jail.

A good staff plus cooperation from the 12 city, county, State, and community action agencies also involved in the effort have contributed greatly to the success of the program. We also have benefited from a very imaginative and effective training program, with heavy emphasis on sensitivity training and orientation to grassroots community problems.

The CEP eligibility and enrollment unit operates from a building housing a number of other programs that work with the disadvantaged. This arrangement works out well. When we are unable to place an applicant, we can refer him quickly to another program in the same building for placement.

Because of this arrangement, the CEP Center has been able to persuade a number of groups, such as the Los Angeles

County Youth Training Employment Project and the Watts Labor Community Action Council, to let us make the final selection of trainees for their programs. This policy helps CEP enrollees maintain high morale by sparing them the discouragement of being rejected.

CEP orientation is a 30-hour, 1-week program with an optional second week. Flexibility is the keynote. During the orientation, we seek to learn the needs of each individual and to see how the participants react to each other and to the program. In this way, we can tailor our counseling, coaching, and employability planning to serve each person with maximum effectiveness.

Our open-minded approach served us well when we were confronted with a serious and unexpected challenge.

Several militant black nationalist groups are organized in the Watts community. They are quick to attack any bureaucratic organization or activity they feel is hostile to their goals. They immediately became very critical of the CEP orientation. Members of one militant group began visiting our orientation classes every day, arguing with the conference leaders, verbally abusing the guest speakers, and intimidating the enrollees.

After a few days of this, we were faced with a choice of calling the police or fighting ideas with ideas. We chose the latter. We explained to the militants that they were welcome to participate but that disruption would serve neither their ends nor ours. We offered them a place on the orientation schedule so they could tell their ideas to the enrollees. The plan succeeded beyond any expectations.

It soon became clear to the militants that we were not in Watts seeking power and influence. Our goal was simply to prepare people to find and hold good-paying jobs. They also learned that CEP enrollees were not interested in political dialogue. They wanted to learn about the working world and how they could make a living for themselves and their families. So the militants ceased their harassment and our relationship with this organization has since been excellent.

Orientation has become one of the most important foundations of the Watts CEP. The dropout rate has remained low, less than 3 percent, and this good record has enabled us to move participants into the succeeding steps of the program with a high degree of confidence.

The CEP staff fortunately maintained its flexible outlook in putting together the package of support services—a package that includes health care, legal counsel, emergency financial help, housing, child care, and transportation. We expected health services to be the greatest need. To our surprise, far more applicants need legal help—426 (42 percent) of 1,008 people who came aboard in 5 months compared to less than 10 percent who needed health or dental care.

We have taken two important innovative steps to ease the burden these legal problems placed on the enrollees and the project.

First, a legal service unit was established. Six of our New Careers trainees are assigned to this unit. The people in this unit, in an impressive performance, have persuaded judges and clerks in 11 different court jurisdictions to cooperate.

Handling of relatively minor cases involving CEP trainees has been simplified and speeded up. In almost every instance, jail sentences have been dismissed, fines reduced, and the trainees permitted to pay them in monthly installments.

Second, through the cooperation of several local agencies, we have arranged for CEP enrollees who are arrested, or for whom warrants have been issued, to be released on their own recognizance as responsible citizens.

It would be hard to overemphasize the benefits flowing from these two humane and imaginative measures. For the first time in the history of Watts, perhaps of the Nation, an organization has devoted itself to helping large numbers of unemployed, disadvantaged members of a minority to cope with a legal system many of them don't understand.

The obvious immediate benefit is that large numbers of enrollees stay out of

Automobile mechanics student Cerion Middleton puts theory into practice.

Ronald Gray stitches automobile upholstery under expert guidance of instructor Willie Houston.

Willie Cameron demonstrates the welding techniques he teaches to CEP trainees at Watts Manufacturing Company.

U.S. Army tents are sewn by CEP trainees (left to right) Edna Ross, Louella Jones, and Anna Herrera in canvas shop of Watts Manufacturing Company.

jail, in the program, and on the job. Most of the 426 who have been aided would unquestionably have faltered and dropped out without relief from their legal problems.

Another benefit is that we have demonstrated to the participants that we want to help them and can do so effectively. We have won their confidence, which helps account for our low dropout experience.

Also on the plus side is a solid advance in community involvement. To make the legal program work, we needed the help not only of the clerks and the judges but also of city and district attorneys, sheriffs, and police and county officials. They helped us arrange our procedures and they understandably take pride in a program they helped make successful.

And finally, such solid achievements as the "own recognizance" procedure give the hard-core unemployed a sense of pride and dignity and have won us the full support of the CEP Lay Advisory Committee.

As manager of the CEP Center, I was annoyed when I heard that we had to have an advisory committee. I had visions of a bunch of "citizens" trying to tell me "how to run my business," and I didn't like it. But I had no choice. A lay advisory committee was required by the program guidelines.

When I first saw the committee roster, I thought my worst fears were justified. It included representatives from groups and organizations ranging from Mothers Anonymous and Young Men for Total Democracy to the Urban League and the Manpower and Management Association.

My fears regarding the committee were groundless. The members haven't tried to tell me how to run my business. Instead, they invest a lot of their personal time and energy to make the program work.

For the first 6 months, they met every Tuesday night, in meetings lasting 2 to 4 hours, and with attendance averaging around 20 per meeting. They tackled such projects as trying to get better bus service for the community and trying to help the Urban League get its on-the-job training

program off the ground. When, after several months, they did invite me to attend a meeting to discuss a problem, it was a truly serious matter that was discussed intelligently and I was glad they had called it to my attention.

I don't mean to imply that the Lay Advisory Committee gave instant support to either our program or the staff of the CEP Center. But the members were objective and fair. When the program demonstrated that it really was oriented to help the community, they supported it. And when the staff demonstrated it was trying to do a good job, they supported us.

The hiring of 32 people from Watts under the New Careers Program to work as trainees in the CEP Center was a radical change in policy for the California Employment Service. We selected trainees not on the basis of test results, educational achievement, past work experience, or even acceptable attitudes. The only requirements were an understanding of, and an involvement in, Watts affairs. A deliberate attempt was made to hire people representing a true cross section of the area, including men and women of all ages—militants and moderates—who were active in a broad range of community affairs.

The police records of some of the trainees are awesome. Together, they have amassed a total of about 350 arrests and 150 convictions. As a result, it is fair to say that the trainee members of our staff have faced the same problems as the people enrolled in the program. Maybe this situation has helped us achieve a facility for coping with these problems on a communitywide basis. It also has generated some friction between the trainees and the professional employees.

But despite the headaches it caused, making the Community Service Trainee Program truly representative of the people of Watts has produced a solid success for the New Careers Program. Of the 32 original trainees, also called coaches, three have left the Employment Service for better jobs and 26 have advanced to the next step on the career ladder—permanent classification as Employment Community Workers. Only three, less than 10 percent, have failed to make the grade.

While the Community Service Trainee project has been a success, we could have done better.

Because of budget limitations, up to four coaches shared a desk, or in some cases a table without any drawers. Coaches had no telephones, no nameplates, no in-baskets, and no chairs they could call their own. Such trappings may seem unimportant, but they loom large in the mind of a disadvantaged trainee quick to resent any treatment that implies a status as a second-class employee.

The CEP Center employs 32 Community Service Trainees and only 42 professional staff. During the early weeks of the program, when there were natural problems of adjustment, the coaches gathered into a tight antiestablishment group that was a long time breaking down. A sound counseling relationship between the professional staff and the trainees could have avoided this problem—or at lease alleviated it considerably. But we did not approach the situation properly.

We *counseled* the coaches, instead of *making counseling available* to them. As a result, the coaches felt counseling was being forced on them and they didn't invest in the transaction. If counseling were purely optional for coaches, many undoubtedly wouldn't avail themselves of it. But the ones who did would be in the frame of mind to profit from it.

One of our biggest disappointments has been the reluctance of many employers to hire the disadvantaged. Businessmen were quick to applaud the goals of CEP in theory. They agreed that the hard-core unemployed should be placed in good jobs and given some assistance during the period of adjustment. They acknowledged that efforts such as the CEP should be oriented to the needs of enrollees rather than employers.

However, when it came to hiring CEP trainees, many employers held back. Their attitude generally was, "Yes, it's a good idea but it doesn't fit our particular situation." The reasons are not hard to understand.

Employers must show a profit to survive, and hiring a truly hard-core person is not profitable initially. Giving special assistance to certain new employees is not traditional in private employment. In fact, the concept violates certain popular American principles of giving equal opportunities to, and making equal demands of, all employees.

We hoped that the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program, which shifts much of the training costs to the Federal Government, would eliminate employer reluctance to hire the hard core. It helped. Some corporations with JOBS contracts did cooperate. Unfortunately others did not. The Department of Labor apparently will have to take a close look at the recruiting practices of JOBS contractors and stress the importance of cooperating with local CEP projects.

To carry out manpower programs effectively, a public agency must be able to move fast, make decisions quickly, understand and communicate with the people of the target community, and reach and recruit the hard-core unemployed. Our experience in Watts demonstrates that the Employment Service can meet these demands.

Watts is a sophisticated, militant black community. Since the riots, it has heard many promises and seen many programs that failed to meet their announced goals. Because of its experiences, the community is slow to support new programs. Yet the CEP is gaining community support and is succeeding.

We have recruited the truly hard-core disadvantaged. We have opened a dialogue with the blacks and other minorities, including the militants. By hiring 32 Community Service Trainees we have brought the hard core into the administrative structure. The CEP Lay Advisory Committee, representing the community, has taken an active and continuing part in establishing policy and carrying it out.

The people of Watts have come to understand that our goal is to serve their community rather than outside interests. Even that understanding doesn't guarantee success. But without it, nothing is possible.

DOES EVERYBODY NEED A HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA?

By Rose Wiener

Everywhere a jobseeker turns today, he faces the standard query: "Do you have a high school diploma?"

Yet American industry would be crippled if it had to drop all of its employees who have not completed high school. In 1967, 27.5 million persons—39 percent of the Nation's jobholders—were employed but had no high school diplomas. This number is gradually decreasing, however, as older workers, who make up the bulk of those without diplomas, leave the labor force. The wide variety of jobs held by workers without diplomas throughout American industry underscores their importance in the operation of our economy.

Over two-thirds of the Nation's agricultural workers have not completed high school, and neither have 46 percent of the workers in manufacturing—about 9.3 million persons. Workers without diplomas prepare our restaurant meals, bake our bread, put gas in our cars, produce our clothing, and perform scores of other useful and rewarding jobs. More than half of our highly skilled carpenters, building trade workers, and metal workers lack high school diplomas, as do a variety of other comparatively well-paid workers: truck drivers and delivery men, assembly line workers, machine operators, and workers in a wide range of other occupations.

All this is not to belittle the importance of secondary education. Technological changes have increased the number of

jobs requiring people with more extensive and highly specialized educations. And the proportion of these jobs in the economy is constantly growing, so that anyone who is able to complete high school and go on to more schooling is increasing his chances for advancement and better pay. For hundreds of thousands of youngsters, the high school diploma represents completion of specific vocational preparation that greatly improves opportunities for immediate employment. For a majority of high school graduates, the diploma is a passport to a college or postsecondary

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Mrs. Wiener is with the Manpower Administration's Office of Manpower Research. Unnecessary emphasis on the high school diploma as a condition of employment is the subject of "Credentials and Common Sense," a new publication written by Mrs. Wiener and issued by the Manpower Administration. Copies are available from the Manpower Administration Information Office, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20210.

DOES EVERYBODY NEED A HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA?
continued

program which may offer advanced vocational and business training as well as academic and professional education.

Nevertheless, the same technological changes that have increased the demand for people with superior education and training have also opened up other jobs which have no greater educational requirements than the job eliminated. For example, the code inscriber who works in a bank filling in code numbers to prepare checks for electronic sorting probably needs less academic background than the proof machine operator whose job has been eliminated by this new advance in data processing. Yet, many employers insist on applying high educational standards to these and similar jobs.

The rigid demand for a high school diploma as a condition of employment bars millions of capable people from jobs they could perform. It denies young people entry into a satisfying and productive work life. And the implications of the "diploma demand" on employment of the hard-core unemployed are exceedingly grave.

How the diploma requirement is applied without thought as to its usefulness in selecting workers able to perform the jobs that are to be filled is illustrated by the results of a pilot study of employer hiring practices in two occupations—driver-salesman and wireworker—recently completed by New York University under the sponsorship of the Manpower Administration of the Department of Labor. The study found that 1 in 4 employers required a high school diploma of employees, and nearly half the employers would prefer people with high school diplomas for the job of driver-salesman. Yet the majority of employers required only that their workers have the ability to read and write, and there was no significant relationship between the worker's level of education and his job performance.

American industry would not have reached its current preeminence if it had always rigidly insisted on high school diplomas for jobs in which a diploma has little relevance to work performance. The extraordinary growth in production and productivity during World War II was accomplished by training great numbers of workers, many fresh from the farms and fields of the South, and most with limited education. In 1940, when the vast push in production got underway, the labor force averaged only 9.1 years of schooling. Not for almost 20 years—until 1959—did as many as half the workers have a 4-year high school education or better.

A recent Columbia University study* suggests the American emphasis on school credentials may even be counter-productive, as opposed to the theory that a diploma insures maximum job performance. Few firms bother to find out whether more education among their employees results in better work, or whether high school education is necessary for good job performance. The Columbia report indicates that in many specific occupations in a variety of industries and firms, the lower educated may do as well as, and often better than, workers with more formal training.

Nor is the evidence of the potential contribution of less educated workers to industry limited to semiskilled work. The McDonnell Douglas Corporation, maker of Phantom fighter planes and a prime contractor for the Mercury and Gemini space capsules, discovered that selected school dropouts could be trained to meet high standards of accuracy and precision. The company found that "basic literacy, an eighth-grade grasp of arithmetic, an ability to understand and accept simple instructions, and motivation to learn and to work" are at the core of successful experiences with dropouts.

The result of employer emphasis on the high school diploma is reflected to some degree in the Nation's unemployment statistics. In 1967, 1.5 million unemployed Americans 18 years old and older did not hold high school diplomas. These diploma-less jobseekers constituted 56 percent of the total unemployed population 18 years old and over, and they accounted for 60 percent of those who had been out of work for 15 weeks or more.

The diploma-less workers often had to make do with part-time jobs when they wanted full-time work; 60 percent of the persons working part time for economic reasons were people without high school diplomas. Other employees without a full high school education, although working full time, could not advance to better jobs they could perform.

* "Educational Requirements for Jobs," *Manpower Strategies for the Metropolis*, ed., Eli Ginzberg (New York: Columbia University 1968.)

The importance of a high school diploma in opening the door to job opportunity is indicated by the sharp decline in unemployment as the level of education rises. Among men 18 years old and older in the work force, unemployment among white men (in 1967) declined from 4 percent for high school dropouts to 2.3 percent for graduates, and 1.3 percent for those with some college. Unemployment dropped in similar fashion among nonwhite men (mainly Negroes): it fell from 8.8 percent among those with 1 to 3 years of high school education to 5.4 percent among those who were graduates, and 3.2 percent for those with additional education. The most severely handicapped by the lack of a high school diploma are young workers.

The term "dropout" is usually applied to these young people, but they are just as likely to be "pushouts"—youngsters who have reacted to the inflexibility of some teachers and some school systems in holding the interest of the students, in developing their particular capabilities, and in dealing with them as individuals rather than as captive subjects. Many fail to complete high school because they are poor or have problems at home.

Where subjects are not related to the real world or where the school situation could be spiritually destructive, the dropout may make the healthier choice than the passive student who simply endures. One report summarizing nine surveys covering 21,000 dropouts found that 11 percent of them were students of very high ability. A number of other studies indicate that general mental ability is not important in identifying potential dropouts.

Currently 1 of 5 youngsters leaving school does not receive a high school diploma. In 1966, 600,000 youngsters embarked on their life careers without this important qualifying credential. Half of these were girls. For many, marriage would delay the need for finding a job; yet, even as married women, there is a good chance that at some point in their lives they will be looking for work. Many of the boys could settle for menial jobs temporarily and delay the frustrations that they would face later when they look for more substantial and rewarding employment.

Just how important is a high school diploma for doing a job satisfactorily, when the job admittedly doesn't involve use of the education received in high school? Some employers contend that it is a screening device that determines reliability and serves as an easy way to predict job performance, although the studies cited in the Columbia and other reports offer no proof of this connection.

Employers who believed that possession of a diploma might increase the odds in favor of good job performance were warranted in indulging in the luxury of insisting on such standards when the national rate of unemployment varied between 5 and 7 percent for a period of 7 years (between 1958 and 1964). Then the employer could indulge his whims by picking and choosing from a pool of unemployed.

But insistence on diplomas for all workers makes no sense among employers now complaining about labor shortages. For a variety of reasons a larger proportion of minority group youngsters than white youngsters lack high school diplomas, and this has become one of the major factors helping to explain, but not excuse, the shockingly high rate of unemployment among nonwhite teenagers.

In 1967 the nonwhite teenage rate of unemployment was 26.5 percent, almost two and one-half times the white rate of 11 percent. The result has been an unnecessarily rough passage from school to work for many youngsters. They have lost income; they have lost experience. Many "make it" after a few years of floundering and discouragement, but too many others simply give up the job search or settle for the most menial, insecure, and dead-end jobs, ending up as the "working poor," who receive such small pay that they cannot afford a life of even minimum adequacy.

Now that the Nation is unequivocally committed to a policy of full employment and we are bending all of our energies to prevent the buildup of inflationary pressures on the job market, industry personnel managers should take a hard look at the educational requirements they are insisting upon in hiring or promoting workers. The aim now is to screen in rather than screen out job applicants and make the most productive use of all persons.

While American businessmen in the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program are demonstrating in increasing numbers that they have not lost their ability to adapt to changing circumstances, progress has by no means been fast enough or sufficiently widespread outside the program.

Here are six practical and positive steps that can be followed to step up hiring progress:

1. Examine educational requirements; precisely what abilities are needed to perform the work?
2. Examine tests and test procedures; do these tests conceal the abilities of many potentially useful workers?
3. Adopt the philosophy of "screening in" and not "screening out" those without a high school education.
4. Educate supervisors to work with these employees.
5. Redesign jobs; all-around men in all-around jobs may be fine for the very small shop; they can be expensive anachronisms as payrolls expand.
6. Provide on-the-job training.

These steps represent no more than the pragmatic approach for which American business is famous. The approach is no longer simply a desirable virtue but a necessity if full use is to be made of our manpower resources. A positive approach to hiring and an open mind on the need for a high school diploma are necessary now more than ever—not only for economic reasons in making workers who have previously been barred available to industry, but also to assure all Americans that productive employment opportunities are open to all and that they represent a practical pathway of gaining dignity and self-sufficiency.

KEEPING FAITH WITH THE POVERTY MARCHERS

Hundreds of poor people, marching on Washington last year, made several demands of the Department of Labor. The demands were for more jobs for the disadvantaged, more training, and easier access to jobs. The Department responded by outlining the efforts then underway to aid the disadvantaged and also promised additional actions.

What has happened to these efforts since Resurrection City—the poverty marchers' encampment—passed into history?

The Department promised the marchers 100,000 jobs and better employment centers. Both objectives were met. The National Alliance of Businessmen reported that some 12,000 private firms were participating in the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program and that they had placed 100,000 workers by year's end.

To improve employment services for disadvantaged jobseekers, State agencies are streamlining local office operations wherever possible. They are counseling those who need and want this assistance. They have increased their solicitations to employers for job openings and are encouraging changes in hiring requirements to open up more job opportunities for poor people. To provide better service for all jobseekers, regardless of age, some Youth Opportunity Centers and Adult Opportunity Centers are merging. Arrangements have been made with schools in depressed areas to provide employment services to high school seniors and school dropouts.

In some communities, the Employment Service offices are organizing or participating in volunteer neighborhood centers. They are expanding services to older workers and making these services more accessible to the public. Demonstration projects are also underway to make manpower services more readily available to the rural poor.

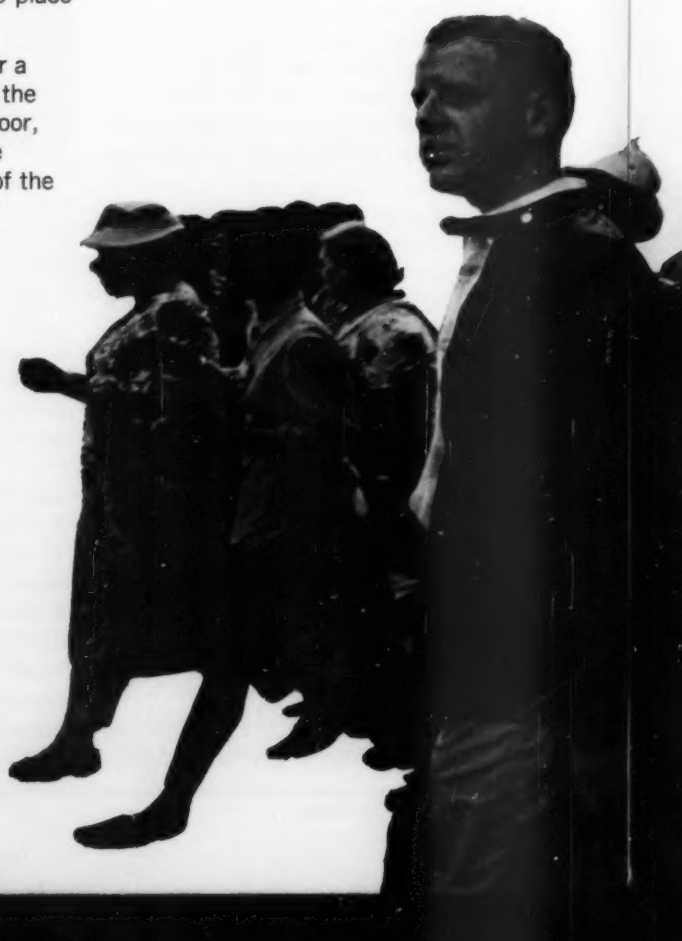
Last year 56 new Concentrated Employment Programs were established in collaboration with the Office of Economic Opportunity. These programs develop employability and find jobs for the poor in target areas. Seventy-eight of these programs are now operating and four more are being planned.

The Employment Service has been helping the hard-core unemployed and underemployed workers to get jobs by providing a variety of services—the Human Resources Development approach. Last summer 430,000 job applicants were identified as needing HRD services. Nearly 111,000 received counseling services. More than 65,000 were referred to and enrolled in training under such programs as the Manpower Development and Training Act, Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, and Work-Training programs. Nearly 350,000 job placements were made.

The poverty marchers asked for a voice in guiding programs for the poor. Representatives of the poor, the Department said, would be appointed to a subcommittee of the National Manpower Advisory Committee and to the eight Regional Manpower Advisory Committees. Names of poor people and their representatives have been compiled for consideration by the Secretary of Labor when he makes appointments to the proposed subcommittee and a list is being prepared to draw from in making appointments to the regional committees.

One departmental promise to the marchers ran into a budgetary snag. This was the Department's stated intention to hire additional personnel to investigate employment agencies for compliance with fair employment regulations. Although an attempt was made to obtain 13 new investigators, budgetary cuts reduced the number to five.

The Department promised the poverty marchers it would expand its Manpower Development and Training Act Programs in numbers and in scope. It promised to encourage local agencies to locate the poor in high quality jobs, to involve residents in Model Cities Programs, and to refuse funding for Work Incentive Program (WIN) projects that do not lead to quality jobs.



To open up quality jobs for the poor, the Department's WIN projects provide on-the-job training to place the poor in responsible, subprofessional jobs. WIN projects are instructed to give trainees an option of taking good quality jobs or, if these are not available, to continue training in order to qualify for the quality jobs which are available.

The Department is following guidelines agreed upon by the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Housing and Urban Development on using area residents in Model Cities efforts. The Concentrated Employment Programs in Model Cities Programs provide for governing boards on which half the members are area residents.

In the Department's New Careers Program, greater emphasis is now placed on recruiting local residents in target areas for jobs and career training and employment in human service agencies. Persons in this program—including those without a high school education, those with police records, and those on public assistance—are being trained in colleges, universities, and other institutions. The object is to help the trainees continue in jobs leading to professional levels in health, social service, law enforcement, employment service, education, and other agencies.

Better statistics on employment among the poor were asked by the marchers. These would provide information for planning and evaluating assistance programs. The Bureau of Labor Statistics is now publishing quarterly information on employment conditions in the poorest fifth of the neighborhoods of our 100 largest cities. Last August, an analysis of employment in poverty neighborhoods and other urban areas was published. More detailed surveys, begun in July on the employment programs in Atlanta, Chicago, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, and New York City slum areas, will soon be published. When funds are available, the Department will publish statistics on employment among the poor each month.

The growing use of unvalidated personnel tests, often a rigid condition in hiring or employee advancement, has long concerned the Labor Department. The marchers were also concerned about these tests. They found them a major reason for minority group failure to obtain jobs or to receive deserved promotions.

To correct these injustices, the Department in September barred Federal contractors from using employment tests which do not actually measure a person's ability to perform the job he is being considered for.
To become eligible for Government contracts, a contractor must submit proof of the validity of his employment tests. The U.S. Employment Service plans to expand this validation program to cover State Employment Service agencies.

The Employment Service is now using new testing techniques and Spanish language tests among applicants whose abilities and aptitudes are not accurately revealed by conventional testing. A nonreading version of the Employment Service *General Aptitude Test Battery* and a Mexican Spanish version of this battery are being developed. They will be used among disadvantaged applicants who have difficulty reading and understanding directions in taking the conventional version of the test.

In general, the Department's response shows that the promises last spring to aid the disadvantaged were not hollow. Each month there has been continuing fulfillment.

PROJECT TRANSITION:

JOB TRAINING FOR JOHNNY BEFORE HE COMES MARCHING HOME

John M. Virden, editor of the Employment Service Review and author of this article, died suddenly on December 23, 1968. A retired Air Force Colonel, he was a 23-year veteran of service in the Army and Air Force. In 1949-50 he acted as Press Officer for General Eisenhower.

Before coming to the Department of Labor, the Colonel had been Assistant Dean of Military Science at the University of Maryland and an editor for the Army Times Publishing Company.

One of Col. Virden's "minor" achievements, sharing with Milton and Coleridge the distinction of being quoted in Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, concerns the use of the word "sad." Those who heard "the long sad notes of taps" at Arlington on December 27 —and those whose privilege it was to know and work with him—salute the writer and the man, and cannot but keep a happy memory of him.

By JOHN M. VIRDEN

The vast majority of servicemen discharged each month already know what they are going to do—or say they can make the transition to civilian work on their own. But for the tens of thousands who need assistance, the current effort to pave the way back into civilian life is a marked improvement over any of the previous programs which were available when most of today's 26 million veterans were discharged from military service. Thanks to a new effort, Project Transition, the ex-GI faces a brighter future as he returns to civilian life.

In the late autumn of 1968, the transition machinery was geared up and rolling to handle great segments of approximately 72,000 men and women who were being discharged and sent back into civilian life each month. Prospects are that this torrent of veterans returning to the labor force and into educational institutions will reach at least 900,000 this year.

Since the beginning of the Republic, returning war veterans have received certain benefits in recognition of honorable service to the Nation in time of grave danger. Men discharged from General George Washington's Continental Army were given a small sum of money to buy civilian clothing, and a certificate that entitled them to a parcel of public land. The veterans of the War of 1812 and the War with Mexico in 1846-47 were also given tracts of public land and war pensions. At the end of the Civil War, Union veterans could claim 40 acres of farmland, a team of mules, and a plow as part of their war service benefits.

The Nation wanted to repay the veterans of the 30 years of Indian Wars and the Spanish-American War, but by then the supply of public lands to parcel out had been exhausted. So these veterans got quicker and larger pensions, better veterans hospitals were built, benefits for dependents were broadened, and other benefits were added.

The end of the First World War in 1918 triggered the demobilization of more than a million men within 6 months following the cessation of hostilities, and also brought some economic strains the United States had not experienced before. The disabled were, of course, hospitalized and granted pensions for disabilities suffered in combat or other line-of-duty service. But the cash reward to every veteran, based upon his length of service, and whether he had served in the United States or overseas, was deferred for 20 years.

The sudden end to World War II presented still a different situation: the war produced some 16 million veterans, more than had served in all the Nation's wars combined since 1776. But most of the necessary legislation was passed before the veterans turned in their uniforms.

The GI Bill of Rights—the benefit package for World War II servicemen—had an enormous economic and social impact and spurred enrollment in the colleges and universities beyond the wildest dreams of educational leaders.

Government-backed home loans with a value of more than $69 billion from private lenders have been made to more than 7 million veterans in a period of less than 24 years.

Now there is a new GI Bill which has no termination date and is retroactive to cover men who have served in the military forces since the Korean conflict.

Huge educational programs are run on almost every post and base. Thousands of military people still in the service go to college at night and in their spare time.

The major difference in the way the armed services now look at the man who is about to end his tour of duty is in the timing. The program begins 6 months before final discharge. Each man receives a questionnaire to fill out. He is asked about his post-service plans. If he is interested in the volunteer Project Transition program, personal counseling is arranged. By the end of 1968 more than 300,000 had taken advantage of the program.

Those who want to learn new skills or upgrade old ones are enrolled in a class or given on-the-job training. The cost of the classes and training is borne by the private businesses and government agencies participating in the program and by the U.S. Department of Labor, from funds available under the Manpower and Training Act.

Project Transition programs involve three major sources:

—Courses established on or off base by the Department of Labor, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and other Federal and appropriate State agencies having large employment demands and responsibilities, particularly the U.S. Employment Service.

PROJECT TRANSITION:
Continued

Blacksmithing is still a well-paying skill, and trying his hand at Quantico Marine Base is Cpl. D. J. Richards.

A future meatcutter, Sp/5 George Horvath, Jr., practices carving steaks. He was one of many Fort Belvoir, Va., soldiers trained by Project Transition.

—Courses and on-the-job training set up by private industry to meet specific employment requirements. Companies are given the opportunity to train service personnel prior to discharge, on or near a military base, in skills for which the firms have a specific need.

—Defense Department formal school courses, on-the-job training in military skills which are civilian-related and programed learning courses which can be individually pursued.

Ordinarily, a service man or woman performs regular military duties for 4 hours a day, then attends classes or on-the-job training for 4 more hours. The military services provide transportation to jobs or classes off the post. The service man receives no extra pay for the job training or study.

Priority in the program is given to enlisted personnel who:

—Are combat disabled.

—Are ineligible to reenlist.

—Entered service with no civilian job experience and did not acquire a civilian-related skill during their active duty.

—Served almost exclusively in combat-type military specialties.

—Lack adequate formal education.

—Want to upgrade military skills that are civilian-related.

—Require refresher training in civilian skills acquired before their service.

—Are retiring and want to obtain a useful civilian skill.

The vice president of an Augusta, Ga. blueprint company has a typical attitude toward a Project Transition trainee in his firm.

"I'd like to give him a job when he gets out," says Malcolm C. Baxley. "If he wants to stay, I'd like to have him."

That's the real reason Defense Department officials are so keen to get more industry involved in the program.

"Almost every one of these men who participates is guaranteed a job if he wants it," says a Project Transition coun-

selor. "Of course, a lot of men will want to go back home and then use their training to get settled."

Most of the big companies are able to offer opportunities in every geographical section to men they've trained.

"When we graduate a man," says a Humble Oil official, "we send his name to our district director in his home region. We will help him get his own station through our regular dealer financing program or we have company-owned stations where he can be placed." So far Humble has graduated almost 400 from its 12-week courses.

The very first graduate of Project Transition was Norman Bradley, who was a coal miner in West Virginia before turning career soldier and putting in 20 years. He's now running a Humble gas station on the Kentucky Turnpike.

A good many 20-year men are turning to Project Transition to help them bridge the gap back into civiiian life. But it is essentially a program to provide a marketable civilian skill for those who don't have one, whether they have been in the military 2 years or 20.

These people are representative of what is happening in the Transition program:

• Thomas J. Bray is a Negro sergeant in the Army who served two tours in Vietnam. He is enrolled in an MDTA-funded course in radio-television repair conducted at the Grantham School of Electronics in Washington, D.C. He works at his Army job at Fort Myer, Va. in the morning and goes to Grantham in the afternoon. His long-range plans are to continue his education and someday be a radio-TV announcer. However, his immediate plans are to settle in the Washington area, where he already has a job arranged in the electronics field.

• Vietnam veteran Paul A. Chesler, now a civilian, is a graduate of the General Motors training center at Fairfax, Va. He trained one-half of each day for 13 weeks while he was assigned to Fort Belvoir. A Falls Church, Va. automobile dealer lined him up with a job when he left the Army. Chesler still is working there, earning about $100-135 a week.

• Brian L. Copper, an airman, is now about halfway through training in automotive mechanics. He will be discharged in March and already has job offers in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. He wants to be a service manager with an automobile dealer.

• William E. Dale, Jr., a photographer second class in the Navy, is taking computer programer training half of each day at the Naval Cost Accounting Center. He completes his training this month. Dale will soon seek employment in his newly acquired profession after 6 years of service in the Navy.

PROJECT TRANSITION BOX SCORE

Bases where program is in operation	254
Questionnaires administered	323,500
Number interviewed	278,300
Completed training	35,100
Now in active training	14,300
Formal military courses	500
Base sponsored courses	700
Industry courses (classroom and on-job)	450
Labor Department and HEW courses (MDTA)	60
Other Government agency courses	250

• Constance E. Nickerson, a marine, works in Washington in the Office of the Under Secretary of the Navy. Her husband is also in the Marine Corps and presently serving in Vietnam. She is participating in on-the-job training as a dental technician. She foresees the transition training as being valuable for her earning power. Her husband plans to go back to school, and she will work as a dental hygienist to help support them.

Such examples are among thousands showing how Project Transition has aided discharged service men and women to make the hop from military service to satisfying and productive employment. The project has grown steadily from the initial pilot program at Fort Knox, Ky. Officials declare that it is "the best answer yet" for the returning serviceman.

However, these officials also say that they are not reaching enough of the very men for whom the program was specifically devised.

Virtually everyone at the posts where the program is being offered has been informed about it. But many who could benefit from the training have been passing up the opportunity. This is pointed up by the big gap between the number of men interviewed about the program and the number who have asked to participate in it.

"A lot of men this could help immensely are simply tuning it out," says one official. "Either they don't have the interest or they just want to finish out their time . . . get that piece of paper [discharge] in their hand . . . and get out, go home."

There have been some complaints from Negro and other minority group veterans that when they come home they can't find jobs at the level they feel they deserve and can handle.

"These are the very people we're really trying to reach," says a project counselor, "and we will in the long run. The word is getting around now. Those who are already in the program are really gung ho about it."

"I've got sense enough to know that for me this is great opportunity," says Sgt. Carl McNichols, 25, of Danville, Va., studying data processing. "I was a salesman for Sears when I went into the Army. I want more of a profession."

Just about the same sentiment is echoed by Pvt. Walter Knepp, who cooks for the Army in the morning and is learning to be a meatcutter in the afternoon at a food market in Augusta, Ga.

"I tell my buddies: man, you better get in on this. Where else are you going to get it?"

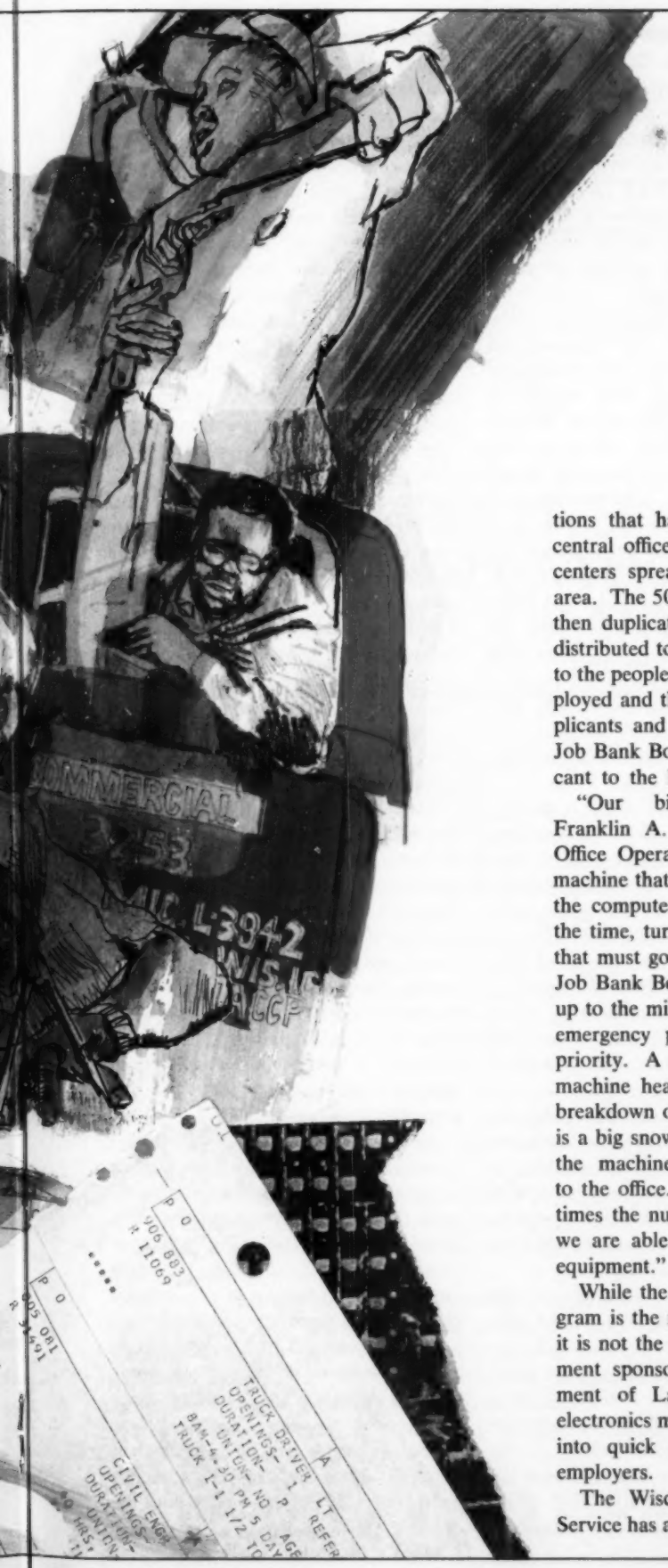
JOB HUNTING BY COMPUTER

In Baltimore, Md. an experiment in computerized job placement is being conducted that could very well revolutionize a major task of the Manpower Administration: getting the jobseeker to the prospective employer in a matter of hours rather than days.

This undertaking, which has been operated by the Maryland State Employment Service for 6 months, is based on a central IBM computer, located in the handsome, modernistic building housing the Maryland Department of Employment Security. In a matter of minutes the computer, a black square marvel that covers one wall of a small office, can list some 10,000 job openings in the Greater Baltimore area, ranging from aerodynamists, marine architects, or flight analysts to chefs, waiters, and bus boys in the local restaurants and domestic help wanted in Baltimore area homes.

Along with the thousands of job openings, the computer lists just about all the information the unemployed man or woman could possibly want concerning employment conditions: the number of openings, how many applicants the employer wants to see, rate of pay, duration of the job slots, education required, physical demands, military draft status desired, whether the work could be performed by a handicapped worker, acceptable age range, and similar factors.

Each working day the computer quietly clicks out a book of 500 pages, eliminating all the jobs that were filled the day before and adding those posi-



"This certainly does beat the old methods."

tions that have been called into the central office or into the 12 outreach centers spread over the metropolitan area. The 500-page Job Bank Book is then duplicated 29 times, bound, and distributed to the outreach centers and to the people who work with the unemployed and the underemployed job applicants and must have access to the Job Bank Book in matching the applicant to the listed vacancies.

"Our biggest hang-up," says Franklin A. Owens, Chief of Local Office Operations, "is the duplicating machine that stands cheek-to-jowl with the computer and runs practically all the time, turning out its 14,000 pages that must go into the 29 copies of the Job Bank Books, fresh, complete, and up to the minute, every day. We have emergency plans, listed in order of priority. A failure of the duplicating machine heads the list, the next is a breakdown of the computer, and third is a big snowstorm that would prevent the machine operators from getting to the office. And we could use three times the number of Job Bank Books we are able to produce with present equipment."

While the Baltimore Job Bank program is the most highly computerized, it is not the only, nor the first, experiment sponsored by the U.S. Department of Labor to employ modern electronics methods to bring the jobless into quick contact with prospective employers.

The Wisconsin State Employment Service has a going program for matching jobs and people who have skills that are hard to categorize but still marketable. The LINCS program, started in 1964 and now used in the San Francisco and Sacramento, California areas, uses a teletype network to link local Employment Service offices and help them match worker traits with job requirements for professional, managerial, scientific, and technical occupations. In New York State the Employment Service is working on a computerized job description system for the hard-core jobseekers, that may be of immense benefit in every large urban community with ghetto problems.

In none of these experiments is there any intent, nor attempt, to dehumanize the functions involved in assisting jobless people to find steady and meaningful employment; the use of computers provides the time for more personal staff involvement.

For example, in the Baltimore Job Bank program, in addition to the 12 outreach stations with full-time personnel, there is a permanent staff from the central office out every working day calling on employers to develop vacancies in every type of industry in the metropolitan area. The computer frees these men and women to contact employers at least 7 hours out of each day.

"This is one office where we like to see empty desks," said Mr. Owens. "These employer contact men can't find job vacancies sitting in here. The desks are provided so these people have

JOB HUNTING BY COMPUTER
continued

a place to do their paperwork and make out reports at the beginning or at the end of the day's work with employers. These people are judged by the number of job slots they develop, not by the number of calls they make during a day or a week. If the industrial firm is a big employer, a contact man may work all day in one place, or he may call on a dozen or more smaller establishments."

To insure that every job listed in the Job Bank Book is still current, all copies, save one for the permanent files, are destroyed each night and brand new ones are ground through the computer and the duplicator for distribution early the following morning. All the filled jobs are deleted, and new openings listed. Owens estimates about 250 new job openings go into the Job Bank Book every day. Job placements, he says, are not keeping pace with the listings "and our Job Bank Book is getting somewhat fatter all the time. But one thing sure, the computer has cut the waiting time for the unemployed by at least half since the days we had to do all this work manually."

The Baltimore Job Bank is proving of benefit to the applicants, employers, and the many local agencies cooperating in trying to move the greatest number of people into good jobs in the shortest possible time. Though the project went into operation only last June, a month later the openings on file had jumped 6 percent, direct referrals were up 29 percent, and job placements up 9 percent, as compared with July 1967.

People directly connected with the computerized experiment are confident that all these figures will climb dramatically when this speeded-up method of handling job applicants and job openings becomes better known to both employers and jobseekers.

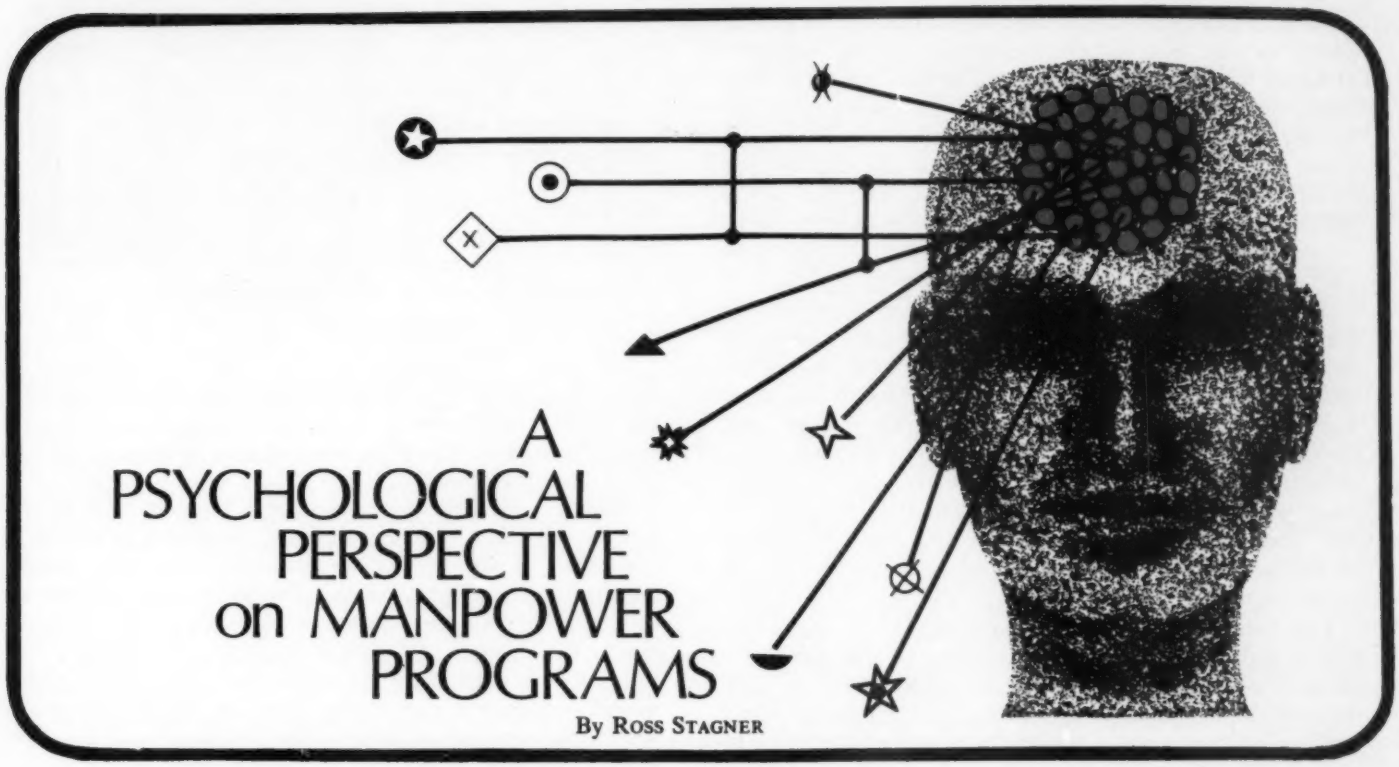
The Baltimore Job Bank project was authorized and funded by the U.S. Department of Labor in mid-1968. Its aim is to make all job opportunities in the Baltimore area available at a central point but with the collected information disseminated widely to the 12 outreach centers scattered over the area for the convenience of the unemployed. These centers are located in sections having the highest jobless population and are generally within walking distance of the people they serve. One station located at Ellicott City, just outside suburban Baltimore, offers employment service to rural and farming people and to seasonal migrant workers who come to that section of Maryland for the annual vegetable, fruit, and tobacco harvests.

The dozen outreach stations feeding job applicant and job vacancy information into the central office vary widely in size according to location and the case load demand. Some have as few as two regularly assigned employees and others as many as 10 people on the station staff.

Key personnel involved with the Job Bank experiment in the Baltimore area spoke highly of the cooperation they were receiving from a wide variety of local organizations and agencies. "Their assistance in bringing the jobseekers to the outreach stations, or to the central office of the State Employment Service in downtown Baltimore, has been invaluable to us," said Otis Oliver, manager for the Baltimore area of the State Employment Service.

The organizations include: the Urban League, Model Urban Neighborhood Demonstration, City Probation Department, Neighborhood Youth Program, Baltimore Occupational Training Center, Opportunities Industrialization Center, Baltimore County Community Action Agency, the Special Impact and Work Incentive Programs, State Parole Commission, Job Corps, Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, and the local Office of Economic Opportunity.

Joseph Ostraw, local probation officer, says ". . . this Job Bank Book is a godsend to those of us who work with the unemployed who are often handicapped because of a police or prison record. I know that I used to spend about 90 percent of my time out pounding the pavements trying to find jobs for these men and women. Now I spend 90 percent of my time going over the listings in the Job Bank Book and the other 10 percent escorting these people to employers who need their skills and are willing to take a chance on them. This certainly does beat the old methods."



A PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE on MANPOWER PROGRAMS

By Ross Stagner

The Nation's unemployment rate, lower this past fall than at any other time since the Korean conflict, is one of many indications that the country's manpower programs are having some degree of success in combatting unemployment. The more than a million people who have enrolled in Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) institutional, on-the-job, and combined training programs, the thousands of job placements through the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program, the proliferation of Youth Opportunity Centers, and the thousands who have found work through the Concentrated Employment Programs are evidence that some inroads are being made into helping the hard-core unemployed.

We have initiated some very fine programs in the manpower field. The goals are high, the sentiments impeccable. Yet the Nation's manpower problems are still far from solved. We have not implemented many of our programs as well as would be hoped. Why not? How can we do better? Not surprisingly, I see the deficiencies primarily in applications of psychological knowledge, although other specialists may see quite a different set of adjustments to be made.

Manpower programs in this country traditionally have concentrated on the task of helping people get ahead within our established employment patterns. There is nothing inherently wrong with this, but there is something to be said for questioning whether it is a policy adequate to current needs.

Selection, testing, training, counseling, and job induction programs have in the past sought to qualify people for existing jobs, accepting the employment practice of hiring only people of the highest quality. Only in the last few years has the Federal Government sought to encourage hiring at new standards—standards which would permit employment of those who did not make it over the testing and training hurdles.

Another approach (now not much more than a twinkle in the skeptic's eye) is the notion that we may have to foster new institutions—consumer and producer cooperatives organized for inner-city residents, neighborhood organizations, and self-help programs—as opposed to assimilation by existing industry. While this idea will present some psychological problems if it goes into higher gear, psychologists are now most concerned about the inadequacies of the individual-oriented selection and training activities of Federal, State, and local governments and private industry. This, of course, is where we stand today—that is, the preponderance of our energy is going into the individual-oriented programs; hence, they require scrutiny.

In commenting on where we stand with regard to these programs, I must necessarily oversimplify, but I shall try to be fair. Psychologists are concerned with individual human beings. We are interested in how they perceive institutions and practices, how their motives are satisfied or frustrated by situations, what social roles they play, and how these roles affect the deprivations of other human beings. The manpower programs of the Federal Government are also intended to serve the welfare of human beings. Let us examine two or three activities in the light of these statements.

First, let's examine the Employment Service. Three groups of people are directly involved in the functioning of the Em-

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Ross Stagner, Ph. D., is Chairman of the Psychology Department, Wayne State University. A seminar presentation by Dr. Stagner on psychological dynamics in the inner-city has just been published by the Labor Department's Manpower Administration.

ployment Service: the staff, employers, and the clients. Staff members perceive ES as an important institution in guiding people to jobs, helping both the worker and the employer. However, not all applicants are equal in their eyes. The neat, brisk, mannerly young man who speaks excellent English will be easy to place; staff members may compete to get him as a client. But the older, illiterate worker with few skills offers a tough problem; the staff may try to avoid him. The person who gets stuck with this client may make half-hearted efforts, convey a feeling of failure and futility to the client, offer some platitudes, and heave a sigh of relief when he departs.

This happens because the ES staff member is also human, and he perceives his social role as a way of getting ahead, of earning money, and winning social approval. The reward system within ES often operates to favor attention to easy cases and to avoid the difficult cases. Rightly or wrongly, staff members believe they are evaluated as doing well when they make many placements. The hard-core case may be complicated and may require many hours of effort, during which the staff man could have placed three or four bright youngsters. Hence, some of the tough cases may be brushed off or handled ineffectively.

This pattern affects the way in which ES is perceived. Certain high school graduates see it as very helpful. Inner-city residents often see it as useless. They quickly learn that ES may not be very helpful in locating jobs for them. Many perceive the bureaucratic routine (more or less correctly) as a runaround calculated to discourage them and get them to leave. A fair percentage of ghetto men see the ES as indifferent or downright hostile.

I do not believe that the addition of electronic data processing will change this aspect of ES. Placement of hard-core cases depends on patient, sympathetic work with individuals. If the reward system were revised to encourage staff to do this kind of job, I am confident they could do it. The Human Resources Employability Development Model, which was issued by the Employment Service in September, is a step in this direction.

Training programs are offered the unskilled in which they may acquire some minimum of marketable skills. High school dropouts are invited to come into vocational training classes.

But if these trainees were young men who dropped out of vocational training classes, who found those programs were frustrating and not satisfying, how can they be expected to do other than drop out again?

Many current training efforts seem to a psychologist to be especially deficient with respect to the importance of motivation. Most of the dropouts or hard-core cases have failed repeatedly in various endeavors. When such a person is criticized for poor performance in class, he simply retreats, rejects the training, and refuses to try again. Research in which I have participated on Detroit teenagers in one such program indicated that rather generous praise for very small successes can gradually build confidence and channel energy into efforts to learn. Another experiment showed that such trainees progressed faster and eliminated errors more quickly when given candy or cigarettes for accurate work than when given praise. Other studies suggest that trainees must have very short assignments with immediate reward, attainable in an hour or a day; they cannot maintain effort for several weeks without reward.

Too many training programs fail to make allowance for such factors. They seem to be mere copies of vocational high school courses, with very little use of psychological expertise regarding motivation, reward, scheduling, guidance, and counseling. This is not to say that such training has been useless. Obviously many youngsters have benefited greatly. But the crucial cases have not been handled successfully.

Why do we follow such policies? Government employees learn to act out certain social roles. They find out what they will be rewarded for. If they get penalized for trying innovations, they will learn to stick to tradition. The problem is not with the training personnel, but with the pattern to which they must conform.

The result is that MDTA works best for people who need it least. The kind of young person who can adapt to the typical training program adapted fairly well in school. The scared, clumsy migrant boy who doesn't know what he is doing and can't explain this to the instructor receives a scolding or is shunted aside. Soon he becomes discouraged and quits, or he stays to obtain his stipend, but makes no pretense of trying to learn.

Some industrialists have become aware of deficiencies in MDTA programs. They suggest changes to build in a gradually stepped-up work pace, few frustrations at first but more in later weeks, and more exacting standards near the close of training. These ideas make sense to psychologists.

Full Employment Realistic, Says New Manpower Chief

Dr. Arnold Weber, the new Assistant Secretary of Labor for Manpower, is a firm believer in the ability of the American economy to place everyone willing and able to work in productive jobs paying wages adequate to maintain a decent standard of living.

He views full employment as a realistic possibility which, if achieved, would be a powerful force in helping to solve a wide range of social and economic problems.

Dr. Weber cites the experience of Western Europe over the past decade as proof that even marginal groups can be absorbed into the active labor force. "Compared to some of the workers who man the steel mills and automobile plants in Western Europe, many of our jobless are the equivalent of Harvard graduates," he says.

Dr. Weber points out that although retraining programs "are essential to preparing the unemployed and underemployed to get and hold productive jobs, such programs are not likely to increase the total number of job opportunities in the economy.

"Large-scale, persistent unemployment and underemployment can be ended only by maintaining the appropriate levels of aggregate demand and production, a goal best attained through Government monetary and fiscal policy. Indeed, the experience in Sweden and France indicates that training activities are most effective in an economic climate of full employment."

Before his appointment as Assistant Secretary of Labor, Dr. Weber was professor of industrial relations and director of research of the University of Chicago's Graduate School of Business.

A native of New York City, he has had extensive experience in dealing with problems of manpower, technological change, and industrial relations.

He has served as vice chairman of the Federal Task Force on Improving the Employment Service and as a consultant to the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy.

Dr. Weber also worked closely with Labor Secretary George P. Shultz on the Armour Automation Fund Committee in developing and studying the effects of public and private policies and programs on the problems caused by displacement of workers.

Dr. Weber joined Chicago's Graduate School of Business in 1958 after receiving his doctorate in economics from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology that year.

Dr. Weber, who is 39, holds a B.A. degree in economics and an M.A. degree in industrial relations from the University of Illinois. He was chairman of the Research Advisory Committee of the U.S. Employment Service.

He has written several papers and books on manpower problems and policies and their relationship to the Nation's economy.

The JOBS Program, a recent innovation in manpower programs, has been an effort to obtain immediate placement of hard-core cases on real jobs. This meets some of the criticisms offered for the MDTA courses but often goes to the other extreme. The worker is expected to adapt suddenly to a totally strange culture. A man who at 35 gets his first regular industrial job has many habits to be broken, others to form. He may be late to work (no alarm clock, staying out late with the boys, can't read bus signs and takes the wrong bus, etc.). He may burst out in irrational rage at a minor criticism from a supervisor. He cannot abandon all his old ways of behavior overnight, anymore than you and I change when we make New Year's resolutions. Thus, carefully planned induction programs are essential to the success of the JOBS placements.

We believe we are getting good results in Detroit by manipulating the group atmosphere within which the ghetto employee functions. This means training supervisors and union stewards in how to deal with the employee, or at least telling them what to expect. It means creating a feeling in the worker that he is not alone, or that he is not surrounded by enemies and critics. We have been using group meetings to ventilate feelings of anger, anxiety, and insecurity, to remove some emotional tensions and then provide explanations of why industry operates as it does. Our successes may be illusory—psychologists sometimes engage in wishful thinking, like everyone else. But it seems that planned manipulation of the social context can facilitate the transition from the ghetto culture to an industrial culture.

Where do we go from here? I can see two courses of action open to us: We can strengthen and improve present programs —and focus them on the most difficult manpower problems— by an infusion of the kind of psychological knowledge I have already mentioned.

We can innovate with new programs which seek to modify the institutional environment, creating new social contexts within which the hard-core unemployed may see fewer obstacles and more opportunities, fewer enemies and more cooperators. We may develop whole industrial enterprises in which the disadvantaged may have a chance to lead and make decisions, rather than being compelled to fit into small, predetermined jobs with few chances for self-expression.

Probably, wise social policy for the next decade calls for experimentation with both kinds of actions. In any event we should never lose sight of the fact that manpower programs aim to help individual human beings, that their motives, fears, and hostilities are crucial factors, and that concern for how the client perceives our efforts is an important element of planning and running the program.

How Honeywell took the JOBS Program to heart

By G. E. Morse

"We believe that it is vital to the successful conduct of business and to the long-range national welfare to promote economic, social, and educational equity for all citizens. Accordingly, all Honeywell employees are recruited, hired, trained, assigned, promoted, transferred, downgraded, laid off, recalled, and terminated based on their own abilities, achievement, and experience, without regard to race, color, creed, sex, or economic status."

With this policy statement on equal employment opportunity, Honeywell, Inc. publicly recognized the interaction between the social needs and the economic needs of all segments of American society.

Early in March 1968, shortly after announcement of the formation of the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB), I told location managers across the Nation of Honeywell's intention to extend full cooperation to Alliance projects aimed at implementing the permanent employment of disadvantaged Americans.

Our managers responded positively. For example, in Minneapolis this resulted in a total commitment to NAB of 629 permanent jobs for the hard-core unemployed and an additional commitment of 483 summer jobs for disadvantaged youth. As of October 1, 1968, approximately 550 permanent jobs had been filled, and about 400 summer placements had been made.

The efforts at Honeywell are assisted by $2.1 million in U.S. Department of Labor funds provided under eight contracts through the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program. Five of the contracts are for projects conducted by the firm in Denver, Los Angeles, Tampa, and St. Petersburg. The remaining three contracts have provided nearly $1.6 million for projects in the Minneapolis area.

While Honeywell management recognizes that immediate employment for the disadvantaged minorities is important, it also recognizes that the roots of the problem lie deeper. Sensitivity training courses have been conducted for our supervisory personnel in an effort to improve the probability of success for the hiring programs.

Mr. Morse is Vice President for Employee Relations, Honeywell, Inc.

Extensive use of the knowledge and experience of those intimate with the problems of the poor is being made in Honeywell's "awareness-sensitivity" programs. The programs include audio and video tapes made by and with the local offices of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Concentrated Employment Program, other agencies, and our own firm.

One of our plant managers in Minneapolis says, "This program is for real. We are going to make a success of it. The story is, we are going to develop all of our people into 100 percent performers, regardless of where they come from, and our supervisors will be expected to make it work.

"In years to come, I'm sure we'll see many of these people as some of the finest, most loyal employees we have, and we'll wonder why it took us so long to wake up."

Once industrially inexperienced persons have been identified and hired, some go directly on the job and others begin a 6-week orientation and skills training program conducted at Honeywell's downtown Minneapolis plant. Those employed under this program —"Operation Passport"— are paid a starting wage of $2.10 per hour, which is increased to $2.15 when they move from the training program into a factory position.

"Operation Passport" is run on a flexible basis responsive to the needs of the students—and to the needs of the Honeywell employees with whom the students will be working. The course matter of the "school" is in two parts: Orientation, which covers the relaxation of tensions and motivation and familiarization with the company; and skills training, which acquaints the newcomers with the operation of power tools, soldering techniques, and other basic skills that are required on the job. At "Operation Passport," roughly 1 hour per day is devoted to orientation and discussion, and 7 hours per day to on-the-job skills training.

On graduation from "Operation Passport," employees are assigned only to Honeywell supervisors who have taken the company's sensitivity-awareness course. This new program has trained 79 employees for Honeywell plants in the Minnesota area.

Recognizing that traveling to work and returning home often pose seemingly insurmountable problems for these new employees, Honeywell appointed a full-time transportation coordinator in the Minneapolis area. One of the first things the coordinator did was to issue 12,000 questionnaires to Honeywell Twin Cities factory employees, asking them if they would be willing to assist their fellow employees living in or near their neighborhoods to get to work. In addition to the approximately 800 car pools the employees operate in the Minneapolis area, more than 200 other employees offered to participate in the program. The coordinator has also worked with the Twin Cities Rapid Transit Company to get bus schedules changed and routes altered to provide public transportation for employees who do not drive.

In a move to motivate and assist needy youth in the Minneapolis area to continue their education, a joint task force consisting of three Honeywell executives and two teachers and a counselor from two Minneapolis core-city schools was formed to determine what the firm could do to cooperate with Minneapolis schools in support of education.

Before presenting its report, the task force met more than a dozen times to examine various possibilities for Honeywell and core-city school cooperation.

A Honeywell personnel employee who is also a former educator was assigned last May the full-time responsibility of manager of educational relations and a number of educational projects involving financial and manpower assistance from Honeywell have begun.

In cooperation with the Minneapolis School Board, Honeywell is cosponsoring the Bryant Junior High School Learning Center. The center, housed in the Minneapolis Junior Achievement Building, adjacent to Honeywell's general offices, is a new concept in education. One of two such centers in the United States, it was established to encourage junior high school students to stay in school and to give them some insight into the world of work. Its objectives are not only to give the students academic and vocational training, but also to relieve some of their many social problems. Minneapolis school teachers administer the program. Honeywell's contributions have taken the form of cash donations, equipment gifts, and the provision of consultants.

Through the Central High School Computer Program, Honeywell has provided computer equipment and is advising the school in the use of the computer as a teaching aid in a number of subjects. The company also conducts computer technology seminars for teachers and hires a number of teachers during the summer months to increase their knowledge of computer science.

Clinton Elementary School, adjacent to Honeywell's general offices, has received assistance during the past year in the form of guided tours and staff consultation, in addition to monetary help. We hope to strengthen our working ties with Clinton school next year.

Honeywell maintains contact with 17 government and community agencies involved in urban problems. We have added to our employment staff and have given specific training to our recruiters.

Active recruitment in community centers proved essential for us to reach the disadvantaged. The use of a recruiting van and the addition of employment staff people—white, Negro, and Indian—who relate effectively to the poor helped to establish greater credibility with the disadvantaged communities. In making our recruiting aggressive, we found it first was necessary to convince the hard-core that Honeywell was really willing to hire people with problems. Only then did applicants begin to respond.

We have eliminated old hiring criteria and have established more realistic ones. We no longer require a high school diploma. We slot people who are unable to read or write into jobs which do not require literacy. We used to reject automatically any applicant with a police record. Today we look to see what is in the record and what's in the man.

Employment procedures were streamlined by the use of a referral card system instead of the typical detailed application form. Offers of employment have been made and accepted without testing, reference checking, or criminal record investigations. Greater medical risks were accepted.

We thoroughly explained our training programs to the applicants to help overcome their fear of what work might be like and help them recognize their ability to succeed.

Special attention was given to keeping appointments on time with all applicants

How Honeywell took the JOBS Program to heart

continued

and particularly with those who were escorted by outside agency people. Nothing frightens away an already apprehensive applicant as surely as keeping him waiting.

Through a cooperative program with the Minneapolis public school system, employees who have not completed the eighth grade can receive 4 hours a day of elementary school work. This in-plant program is offered to those who need and will profit from further fundamental education in their efforts to become a more productive part of the labor force.

Special training is provided for those who do not have a successful work history, who are not familiar with the world of work, or who have no salable skills. During this period, trainees are on full pay. The program includes skill training and job orientation to introduce trainees into the work environment. Some 75 percent of those originally enrolled in the program have completed the training period. And of those who have completed their training, 72 percent stayed on their jobs as permanent employees.

We have found that once disadvantaged employees are on the job, counseling is an effective way to keep our retention rate up and to help the employee become a productive worker quickly. Counselors help employees adapt to their jobs by consulting with them on personal problems—problems which may show themselves on the job but may not necessarily have their cause in the job itself.

In helping employees with financial problems, counselors frequently work through community agencies, such as the Legal Aid Society, and arrange credit plans for payment of an employee's debts. This often helps the employee avoid the discouraging experience of a flood of garnishments on assorted past debts just at the time when he earns his first real pay check.

Another vital element in motivation is evidence of an ability to distinguish between good performance and bad. The disadvantaged seek first-class citizenship. They strive for a real job, not a sham. Once their initial disadvantage is offset, therefore, they expect to be subject to the same production and quality standards and the same work rules and conditions as every other employee. Then, if they make it, they stay and hopefully advance. If they don't make it, they are fired. Any different approach makes the whole effort a farce, a handout, and a degrading experience.

In living up to the spirit and the letter of our pledge as an equal opportunity employer, we hired 871 minority people in our Minneapolis plants and offices last year. In the factory area, 20 percent of all the people we hired last year were minority members. Throughout our Minneapolis operations, 865—4.1 percent—of our employees are members of minority groups, almost double our company's minority population of a year ago. These figures, incidentally, do not include the 376 needy youths of all races hired for the summer by our Minneapolis plants and offices.

These examples are only a sample of the kinds of programs U.S. management is using in the fight against deprivation. Management is cognizant of its responsibility and is committed to accomplishment. Potentially capable but previously underutilized people must be hired, must be made productive, must be helped to earn and to participate in our economic system.

This is a costly undertaking for business. Legislation has been enacted which will help to defray expenses of special employment programs—but half or more of the cost we face will have to be borne by the companies themselves.

This is a risk venture. There will be failures. We must expect that some people will be in a program for weeks or months and then resign and be lost to us. We have to recognize that entire programs may be planned, set up, and put into operation only to be washed out as earnest but misguided attempts. U.S. business management faces this risk investment in the spirit of pioneering that is traditional in American industry. We are prepared to accept the inevitable disappointments, yet continue to work toward success and the rewards it promises for our whole society.

Group Leader John Napue helps Delores Daniels cope with spaghetti-like maze of transformer wires.

Group Leader Anita Allen and Foreman Bill Wilson discuss a scheduling problem.

Operation Passport staffers (left to right) Ed Martin, John Napue, Anita Allen, Bill Wilson and Al Silver map strategy for a training program.

Robert Lee Johnson gets actual transformer assembly work experience before being assigned a permanent job.

Group Leader Al Silver (left) explains some of the fine points of transformer wiring to trainee Daniel Mesabie.

DRIVING

By Emil Michael Aun

A flashing grin lights up Bobby Joe Samuels' black mustachioed face. "What have I done? I've been a truck jockey, a liquor store clerk, a hod carrier, a burglar, a junkie—you name it."

He claims he once earned a five-figure income at his shadier occupations. If that's true, you wonder why he signed up for TOP, a U.S. Department of Labor demonstration project retraining Los Angeles hard-core unemployed as truck drivers and repairmen. Why would a successful "businessman" be interested in becoming a $200-a-week truck driver?

Bobby's eyes laugh and dance. "When you're young and things don't fall in place for you—like college and money and a good position—you do a lot of things for excitement. But after a while, man, you get old and tired."

Bobby, who recently settled down and married, is 36 years old. He looks older, despite the bright eyes, the lithe build, and the humor. He's spent a lot of time in jail.

Is it all right to take his picture? "Sure," he jokes. "Usually they do this with a number across my chest."

His arrest and conviction record stretches back to 1944 and takes up two single-spaced typewritten pages. He's done time for offenses from dope pushing to parole violation.

Now a $4-an-hour Standard Oil driver, Bobby is not a typical trainee. Nobody is. Each man coming into the program has a different set of handicaps to overcome. About all they have in common is that each one has had a history of employment difficulties.

The training staff, headed by a West Coast Teamsters Union official, Don Sanburn, has welded itself into a battering ram that is smashing the barriers that stand between these men and good jobs.

TOP stands for Transportation Opportunity Program, Inc. The project is backed by Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) money, more than $1.5 million since the program began in early 1967. But just as important, TOP is backed by the Joint Council of Teamsters No. 42, representing 50 locals and 133,000 west coast truck drivers. The Teamsters, with the help of the University of California at Los Angeles, used their considerable know-how and some of their brightest talent to start the program.

As one union official put it, "TOP represents a renewal of the Teamsters' dedication to those on the bottom of the economic ladder."

It's been an effective combination—the Teamsters, the Federal Government, the university, and, above all, the zealous TOP staff. By last October, the project had trained and placed 304 unemployed or underemployed in truck-driving jobs paying up to $250 a week. Another 138 had been trained as auto service and repairmen and placed in jobs paying up to $4 an hour.

About 75 percent of these men are black or Mexican American. Many are ex-convicts although the program is not primarily directed at ex-convicts. The 442 men placed in jobs have among them a total of 178 arrests, 97 on felony charges.

A criminal record is just one of many handicaps Sanburn and his staff have had to help the trainees overcome. Some are school dropouts, some are illiterate, some can barely speak English or read and write in any language. One man is black, blind, and an ex-convict. Yet TOP trained him and found him a good job.

"I'm not absolutely blind," says 44-year-old Nathaniel Bertrand. "I can make out big things like this car." He indicates the Ford he's repairing. "But anything little, like print or nuts and bolts, and I need a big magnifying glass."

He was declared legally blind 7 years ago. When he came to TOP early last year, he was receiving $188 a month in welfare money from the State of California. Now he's a taxpayer earning $575 a month as a front-end and brake specialist for Paramount Tires in Los Angeles.

"He works steady—5½ days a week—and we're very satisfied," says Mrs. L. E. Moffett, one of Paramount's owners. "He's been with us since the first of April and has missed only one day to attend a funeral."

Before TOP and Paramount, Bertrand had spent most of his past in prison. He was convicted three separate times—for forgery, burglary, and robbery.

Mr. Aun is with the Manpower Administration Information Office.

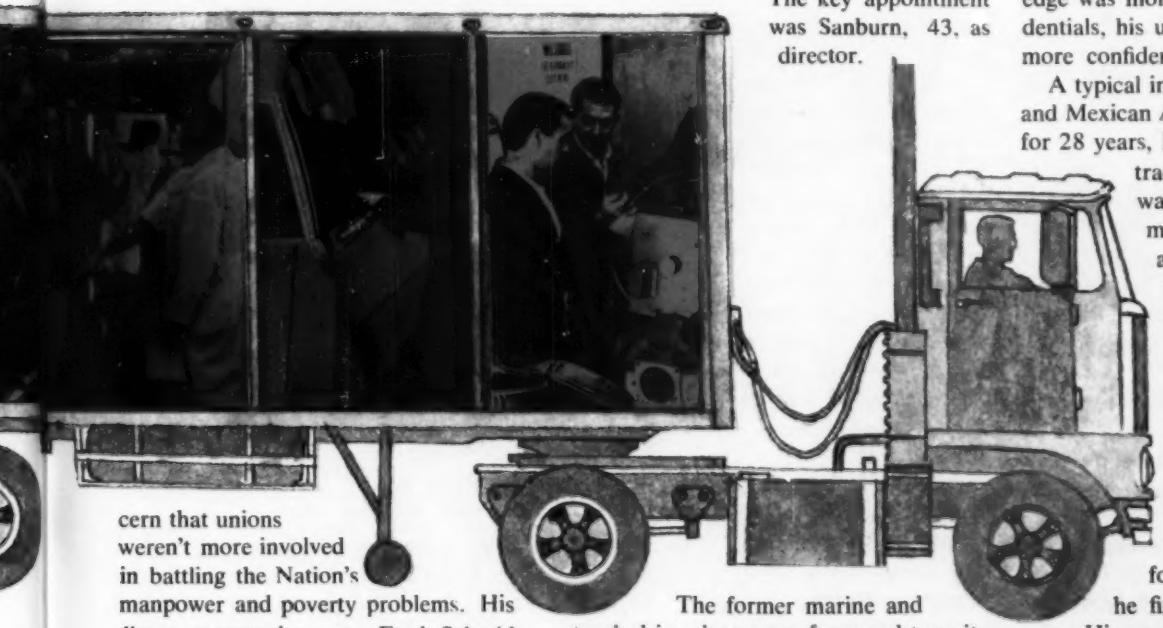
G TO THE TOP

Teamster public relations director James Peck says, "We need employers with imagination to make a contribution to a serious national problem—breaking down barriers to free employment. To go one step further and hire a felon—that takes a company with a heart."

Peck is credited with being one of the fathers of the TOP program. At dinner one night 3 years ago, he expressed concern that unions weren't more involved in battling the Nation's manpower and poverty problems. His dinner companion was Fred Schmidt, senior lecturer and researcher for the Institute of Industrial Relations at the University of California at Los Angeles.

The Institute consulted the Labor Department and received a grant for a feasibility study in 1966. The study concluded that there were both a need and an opportunity for trained truck drivers and servicemen, and that an interested, able union could place in transportation jobs men who customarily were screened out of them. Armed with this information, the Teamsters applied to the U.S. Department of Labor and to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for money for a comprehensive program geared to various transportation occupations and to residents of high-unemployment areas in Los Angeles. The union was awarded an MDTA experimental and demonstration contract in early 1967, and TOP was born.

The key appointment was Sanburn, 43, as director.



The former marine and truck driver is a man of unusual tenacity. He acquired a college education after the age of 35, and a master's degree in political science after he was 40.

His staff—whites, blacks, and Spanish Americans—share his "can do" enthusiasm. He has won their allegiance by keeping a running dialogue open with them. Above all, they respect his ability to use pragmatic tactics to gain idealistic goals. His guideline for everything is "Will it work?"

His practical bent is reflected in his selection of instructors. Most of them never finished high school. Some never got past the eighth grade. None are professional teachers. But they are teaching, and they love it.

"The secret is that they know their trades," Sanburn says. "All of them are journeymen. I told them the trainees need work training, not theory." Once he convinced his staff that their knowledge was more important than their credentials, his unacademic instructors were more confident about teaching.

A typical instructor is Danny Rios, 42, and Mexican American. A truck "jockey" for 28 years, Danny can handle a 10-ton tractor-trailer rig with 16 forward speeds as easily as most men drive a car. More than a year ago, he took a pay cut to work for TOP, partly because he wanted to be home nights but mainly because he wanted to teach.

"I love teaching," he says. In showing why, he introduces George Cruz, a 34-year-old Mexican American with six children. Cruz went to work in October for West Coast Cartage after he finished his TOP training.

His previous peak earnings were $1.60 an hour for bindery work. Now he makes $4.25 an hour; he grosses $200 a week with overtime.

"He was embarrassed and dropped out of training once because he couldn't read and write," Danny says. "I got him back and had a counselor work with him. He's still what you might call illiterate, but it doesn't matter. Now he can read and write well enough to fill out the forms the job calls for."

DRIVING TO THE TOP

continued

Danny beams, "His graduation is my reward. Now he can support his family."

It was precisely for such men as George Cruz that a job-oriented, remedial education course was made part of the training. Obviously a truck driver or a serviceman has to be able to fill out bills of lading or order forms and do minor paperwork. TOP trainees are taught to meet these requirements. They work with actual order forms, and learn arithmetic by adding and subtracting quarts of oil rather than apples or oranges.

But Sanburn's staff is making employers understand that general education beyond these requirements is simply not necessary.

"All kinds of barriers have been put up over the years," Sanburn says. "These include race, language, education, and police records, and they're mostly irrelevant. We're beginning to convince the employers of this. We consider it job development."

TOP trainees are enrolled in their own neighborhoods. Storefront centers are located in the Mexican American sector and near Watts, heart of the Negro ghetto.

Trainees are thoroughly oriented in the requirements for holding a job, down to getting to work every day and on time. Driver trainees receive 8 hours daily classroom and road drill for 8 weeks. Service and maintenance students train for as many as 16 weeks in a simulated garage at TOP headquarters.

Few drop out. Only about 10 percent quit in the first 2 weeks; after that, there are virtually no dropouts. The students receive medical aid and transportation if they need it. More than 3 out of 4 need and get remedial education. Living allowances during training are based on the size of the trainee's family. The average allowance is $71 a week.

The TOP staff is especially proud of breaking down racial barriers in the trucking industry segment that hauls autos.

Robertson Truckaways, a Chrysler carrier for the Western States, has hired three Negroes, two of them TOP graduates. One is Norman Shanklin, 35, who had a long streak of hard luck before enrolling in TOP. Drafted after his sophomore year in college in 1953, Shanklin got married and found himself unable, after Army service, to return to school. "Every year I said I was going back but I didn't," he said. "I was holding down two jobs and I was too tired. But that was a rationalization—other fellows did it."

In 1960 he really came up against it. He had been working several years as a post office substitute and, with overtime, was netting up to $250 every 2 weeks. When he became a regular, overtime ceased and his net dropped to about $150. He couldn't adjust his living standard downward. So he began to rob the mail. He took perhaps $50. It cost him his job, 86 days in jail, and 3 years on probation.

When he got out of jail, all good jobs were closed to him. He finally settled for a job in a parking lot for "5 stinking years." He started at $240 a month and worked 11 hours on weekdays and at least 6 hours on Saturdays. "I had to take it. I had four kids."

This was quite an ordeal for a man with a 140 IQ. In desperation he applied for TOP enrollment, was accepted in April 1968, and hired by Robertson 3 months later. Shanklin still works up to 11 hours a day, 5 days a week, but he grosses up to $260 a week. Shanklin, who plans to buy a home for his family, says, "I'm really proud. I'm the first Negro in the auto trucking industry. The dealers aren't used to black men yet. When I make a delivery, it's interesting to watch their faces."

Robertson's manager is a soft-spoken former Kentuckian named Louie Adkins who says, "I told Shanklin, 'I'm not interested in what you did that got you in jail as long as you learned from the experience. Let's go on from there.' He's a good man—management material."

Two months after Adkins hired Shanklin, Commercial Carriers, Inc., which delivers General Motors products all over the west coast, hired two Negroes, Ron Edwards, 26, and Clyde Adams, 25, right out of the TOP school. As journeymen truckers, they have more than doubled their former incomes. Other carriers are hiring TOP Negro trainees and are accepting TOP graduates as fully-qualified drivers.

TOP and the Teamsters are pleased with what they've accomplished so far. But they will not relax.

"We have many attitudes to change," says Teamsters' public relations director James Peck. "And not only employer attitudes, but also those of the guys themselves. You may have to place a man three times. You may have to bawl him out to get him to go. You may have to drive him to work. The context of American working life is often outside his experience so you've got to be supportive. You've got to make him believe in himself to get him ready for the demanding experience of really sticking to a job and doing it well. But we know now that for most of these men this can be done. Employers are beginning to see that too."

WORKING WITH UNIONS IN JOB DEVELOPMENT

There's more to finding jobs for the hard-core unemployed than working closely with employers. Unions also play an important role in the process. But many people actively engaged in closing the job gap come from business or government and they aren't familiar with union structure and operations, labor-management contracts, the legal status of unions, and what unions do for their members.

As an integral part of the industrial relations system, unions affect both formal and informal relationships between workers and management. They often exercise considerable influence on worker attitudes. Union support can produce a much more favorable climate for the hard-to-employ workers.

Successful job developers must understand unions and be able to deal with them. They must realize that unions have a legitimate interest—and sometimes genuine cause for concern—when new workers, many of them untrained or not fully qualified, are hired.

Knowledge of union organizational structure and the way authority is distributed among local, regional, and national bodies also is vital. The support of regional union organizations, as well as the local union directly affected, should be sought for job development proposals.

Pay and fringe benefits—the so-called bread-and-butter issues—are of prime concern to all unions. But different types of unions have different attitudes and even different contract provisions on job security, hiring control, skill requirements, apprenticeship, job descriptions, and similar matters. Job developers should be attuned to these differences.

Industrial unions usually are composed of workers engaged in manufacturing. Generally, where industrial unions are involved, the hiring of new workers is completely in the hands of the employer, but job developers should be aware that this may be modified if the labor contract specifies recall rights for laid-off workers as a basis for filling job vacancies. Since industrial unions seek to organize everyone in an establishment—regardless of the type of work he does—an expanding work force often means more members for the union. This factor can work to the advantage of job development projects.

Most unions in the service and retail trades have arrangements on hiring similar to industrial unions. Employers also control hiring in most cases where white-collar and professional unions are involved.

Craft unions, found mainly in the building and printing trades, differ from industrial unions in a number of ways. They are composed of skilled people in the same line of work—carpenters, plumbers, typesetters. But the key difference of importance to job developers is that craft unions exercise considerable control over hiring. They rigorously define the hiring practices and criteria for employment in their trades.

People wanting to get into the crafts and trades represented by these unions usually must serve an apprenticeship. Union contracts often stipulate the ratios of apprentices to journeymen, thus controlling the number of new jobs available.

Any threat to the services unions offer their members will cause concern among union leaders and members alike. Moving the hard-to-employ into jobs desired by high seniority workers, for example, may be looked upon as a threat to the union's job protection service. Inserting an untrained clerical worker into an office group may be interpreted as a violation of "status prerogatives" that the union strives to uphold. Using nonapprenticed workers on a construction job may be seen as an attempt to "flood the market" and lower standards that the union tries to maintain. Professional unions may view the hiring of subskilled persons as a violation of professional standards.

This article is based on "Job Development for the Hard-to-Employ," a report prepared by the Institute of Michigan-Wayne State University consortium, under contract with the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration.

A common error in job development for the hard-to-employ is the selection of target jobs where placements would violate union contracts. When a union officer or business agent discusses jobs—new openings, upgrading, or transfers—his thinking is governed both by union members' reactions and by labor contract provisions. The job developer must know the contract, for this is the legal document that regulates relations among the union, its members, and management.

The contract governs manpower assignments by defining the bargaining unit, by describing the entry-level classification system and various seniority groups, and by specifying transfer and promotion systems. Suggestions for placements that violate contract provisions are likely to be resisted seriously by union and management alike.

In most contracts, there is a strict bidding system for jobs. Workers in an establishment under union contract begin at the first rung of the ladder and examine and bid on new jobs when they appear. Bidding for jobs also occurs when employment is cut back. Disrupting this system by unplanned job development efforts will be extremely upsetting to employees who believe it is their right to advance and are concerned that this right may be abrogated.

In placing hard-to-employ workers, the contract definition of the bargaining unit can be a very important factor. If new workers do not fit into this unit, union members may regard them as a potential threat to union-protected jobs. Experience among industrial unions indicates resistance is least when new workers fit into the existing bargaining unit and expand union membership.

Sometimes contract changes are necessary or desirable if the hard-to-employ are to obtain decent jobs. Such changes cannot be made unilaterally by management or the union. They must be negotiated and then approved by the union members. Contract changes often involve "tradeoffs" between management and union. Management, for example, might offer an upgrading or training program for union members if the union will relax certain requirements for entry jobs. Job developers can encourage tradeoffs by making resources like training programs available.

There are a number of guidelines that may be useful to job developers who work with unions.

Above all, forget stereotypes about unions. Unions do not have a blind passion to oppose hiring of certain worker groups. Indeed, both the National Labor Relations Board and the Taft-Hartley Act forbid unions to deny employment or membership. With the exception of the building trades and maritime unions, there are few instances where unions control or object to hiring other than to insist that laid-off workers be reemployed before new workers are hired. As a practical matter, most jobs are open as a function of an expanding market. If there is enough work, unions don't question the right of the employer to hire new employees.

Union administrators usually are capable and well-informed and can be an excellent source of information about jobs and manpower. Many of the unions they represent have a strong social ideology that favors involvement with "underdog" problems. Unions have been among the strongest supporters of progressive social welfare measures to aid the poor.

The job potential for the hard-to-employ in unionized firms is often overstated. According to the most recent Bureau of Labor Statistics data, there are only some 18 million union members in a national labor force of nearly 79 million. About 2.3 million of these are in craft unions.

Improving opportunities for all employees can dampen union resistance to hiring hard-to-employ workers. This resistance is particularly likely to develop when there is high unemployment. As a rule, firms with long recall lists under union contract should be avoided as sources of jobs for the disadvantaged.

When an employer is unable to upgrade his present work force—and open up entry jobs—without suffering production losses, the job developer might arrange for on-the-job training programs to help upgraded workers meet new skill requirements and to supply qualified candidates for vacated positions. Such moves should take into consideration the terms of the labor contract.

Job developers should be aware that when jobs are revised by stripping them of some of their simpler elements, the effects may be felt throughout the work system. The relationship between jobs—even those that haven't been revised—may be changed and questions could arise about the pay for jobs whose content has been changed.

Revisions in job duties can be tied to company manpower needs in cases of a change in product or methods, acquisition of new machinery, expansion of plant and employment, or where there is a labor shortage. There have been a number of instances in which the redesigning of jobs to keep older workers employed or to help disabled employees has resulted in increased output and better employee morale. There may be considerable resistance by both management and labor to job changes simply to "hire the poor."

In any manpower program involving union contracts, union and management should be contacted simultaneously. Although management may have the legal right to hire, it may not have the legal right under the contract to assign an employee to a given work station or classification. The union, as legal representative of the employees, has a stake in the jobs management has to offer.

Union officials should be kept fully informed about job development activities. They are in the best position to explain the program to union members if they have accurate, current information.

It should be made clear to union members that support services for hard-to-employ workers are temporary measures and do not represent a permanent program.

In seeking union participation at initial stages of job development, it is important to recognize union contributions to worker welfare and their social, economic, and political force that can contribute to the welfare of potential union members. At the same time, union leaders' commitment and involvement in job development may be limited by political aspects of their union situations and by the union contract.

In the last analysis, the degree and character of union involvement in job development may well depend upon the extent of union influence over manpower matters. In many situations unions may have nothing to say about hiring, but even under these circumstances union understanding and support can mean the difference between success or failure for a job development program.

manpower

NEWS & NOTES

"The primary responsibility for manpower" and manpower training belongs in the Labor Department, President Richard M. Nixon said in a talk to top Labor Department employees in Washington. He said reorganization plans now under discussion contemplate giving the Department more manpower responsibilities. The Department's mission goes far beyond the problems of labor-management relations and avoiding controversies, Mr. Nixon said. "Its mission relates to the problems of the disabled, to the problems of employment for minority groups, to the whole general area of manpower which is becoming increasingly a part of our concern in this Nation."

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New York University will seek to identify the ingredients of a successful program for hiring Negroes for white-collar jobs in banks. Under a U.S. Department of Labor grant, NYU will study the recruiting, hiring, training, and promotion policies of several New York City banks with good Negro job placement records. The 1-year study, "Black Workers in White Industries: The Banking Industry," is scheduled for completion in the fall of 1969.

* * *

Some 100 minority youths in the Detroit area will be prepared for apprenticeship tests by the United Automobile Workers Union, under an $83,705 U.S. Department of Labor contract. The program is the UAW's first venture as a sponsor of an apprenticeship outreach project. Almost 3,000 minority youths have been sponsored for apprenticeships by civil rights, social action, and labor groups in 51 cities since the outreach effort began 2 years ago.

* * *

New industry in rural areas won't solve employment problems unless local people are trained to handle the new jobs that open up. That is the conclusion reached by Loyola University of New Orleans in its report on an experimental and demonstration program carried out for the U.S. Department of Labor. Often new industry brings a new work force along with it because local residents don't have the necessary job skills. Few of the residents of the rural Louisiana area covered in the Loyola study had the skills to benefit from the growth in the space and petrochemical industry that has occurred there. "These individuals stand with one foot in the traditional agrarian culture of the South, and with the other in the space age," the report said. The report recommends a comprehensive program of "employment and skill training in rapidly industrializing rural areas."

* * *

An experimental course in manpower and employment problems will be added to the curriculum at Harvard under a Labor Department grant. Students taking the new course will spend time in ghettos to work out specific manpower problems, and it is hoped some of them will choose careers in manpower or related fields.

* * *

General Motors hired almost 22,000 hard-core unemployed over an 8-month period and their retention rate was virtually the same as for all other employees. GM reported that 67.6 percent of the 21,706 disadvantaged persons it hired during the 8 months ending November 30 stayed on the job, compared to a retention rate of 67.9 percent for other workers added to the payroll during the same period. The 22,000 hard-core employees hired by GM constituted about 20 percent of its total new hires during the 8 months. As part of the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector Program, GM pledged to hire 12,759 hard-core unemployed by next June 30. The company now predicts that the actual number hired will be double its commitment.

* * *

The Minnesota Employment Service will be the first in the country to use Vista Volunteers in its operations. Ten Vista Volunteers, working under the supervision of the Employment Service, will live in Minneapolis poverty areas and assist enrollees in the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) Program in adjusting to their new work responsibilities. Arrangements for the use of the volunteers were worked out between the Minnesota agency and the National Alliance of Businessmen, sponsor of the JOBS Program.

SEMINAR

Excerpts from Seminars on Manpower Policy and Program, A Series of Presentations Conducted by the Manpower Administration.

The Seminars on Manpower Policy and Program provide a platform for guest speakers and for members of the Department of Labor and other agencies concerned with manpower problems to discuss issues arising from the development of an active manpower policy.

Transcripts of the seminars, which cover a variety of subjects related to the manpower field, are available from the Manpower Administration, Washington, D.C. 20210, and from the U.S. Department of Labor's Regional Information Offices.

Seminar excerpts appearing here are from recently published or soon to be published transcripts and represent some interesting points, though not necessarily the major ones, from the seminars. Expressions of opinion by the speakers are not to be construed as official opinions of the U.S. Government or the U.S. Department of Labor.

Student Unrest and Concern With the Negro

By Seymour Martin Lipset

(From American Student Activism in Comparative Perspective, a Manpower Seminar)

The current wave of student unrest in the United States arose as a response to race relations, the one issue on which the United States has retained a remnant of pre-modern traditional caste values that are basically at odds with the norms of a democratic industrial society. Concern for civil rights, for the status of the Negro, is the supremely moral issue of American society precisely because it is the one area where the egalitarian values of the society, which are approved by almost everyone in theory, are most violated in practice. The continued oppression of the Negro challenges the legitimacy of American institutions in a way that no other issue can.

Students, who tend to accept the basic values of the society in a more absolute fashion than do older generations accustomed to the reality of compromise, became involved in the civil rights struggle beginning in the late 1950's. The story is well known, and it need not be repeated here other than to point out that, in this particular situation, the conservative or traditional elements introduced the tactics of civil disobedience. Southern whites refused to accept the law as laid down by the Supreme Court, and this taught the advocates of civil rights, both black and white students, that the regular peaceful methods of democracy would not work. The confrontationist tactics of civil disobedience, which first emerged in the South, were then spread by the student movement to other issues, particularly in recent years to the protest against the Vietnam war.

The question may be raised as to why students became particularly sensitive to the race issue in the 1960's, when relatively few of them had been actively concerned previously. Obviously, this question does not have one set answer. I would suggest, however, that a generation gap emerged among politically conscious Negro and white youth on the race issue. This gradually took form following the Supreme Court's 1954 decision, which stimulated the struggle for equal rights. It was followed by various actions by the courts, administrative agencies, and legislative bodies; each of these attested to the value of political action, but none resulted in any major visible change in the status of the bulk of the Negro population. They remained poor, segregated, and uneducated, securing only the leavings of the job market.

To each group of civil rights-oriented youth who came to political consciousness, the gap between what ought to be and what actually existed increased rather than decreased, while the reverse was true to older generations. Youth took for granted the existing structure, including the changes that had occurred but a year or two ago, and reacted with outrage against the continued sources of Negro deprivation.

Racially sensitive members of the older generations, on the other hand, often pointed with pleasure to the progress that had been made within the past few years. Thus, an inevitable age-related split occurred within the liberal and Negro political communities. To each new political generation, the older generations seemed like smug members of the liberal establishment; to those older members who had experienced political and juridical enactments supporting Negro rights, which went far beyond their greatest dreams, the American political process appeared to demonstrate its capacity to adjust to pressures for reform.

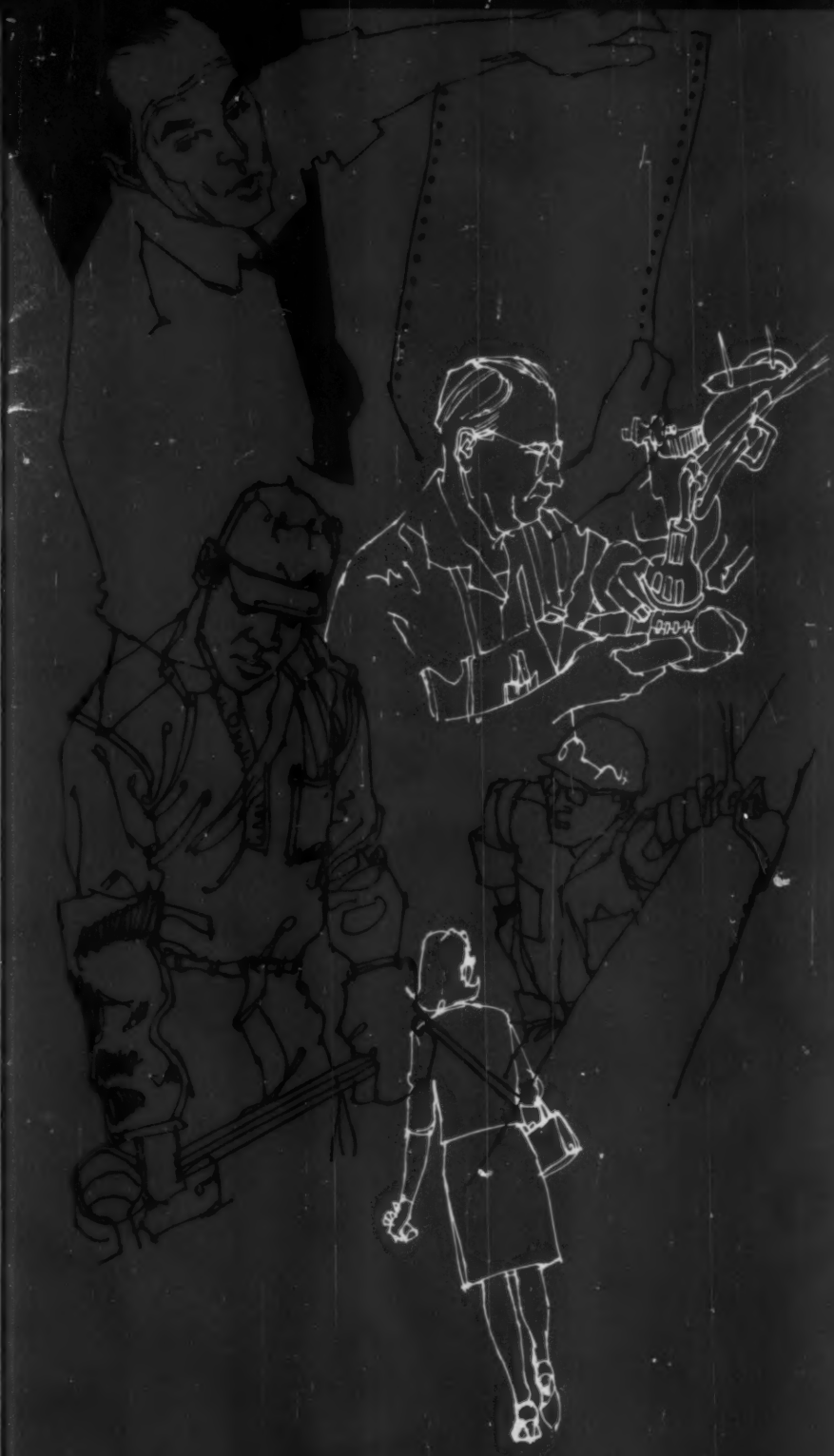
The division between the generations on the race issue has been particularly acute within the Negro community. To younger Negroes, the gains made since the 1950's appear empty in face of the existing pattern of Negro social and economic inferiority. And on the major campuses of the Nation, the growing minority of Negro students have found themselves in a totally white-dominated world, facing few —if any—black faculty and a largely white student body, whose liberal and radical wing turned increasingly after 1964 from involvement in civil rights protest to activity directed against the Vietnam war.

The concern with black power, and with Negro control over their own communities and particularly over civil rights organizations, won growing support among black college students. And most recently, these students have played a major role in confronting university administrations with demands for more Negro students and faculty and for changes in the curriculum. Black students were among the major forces initiating sit-ins during the 1967-68 school year at schools as diverse and separated as San Francisco State, Columbia University, Boston University, Northwestern University, and many predominantly Negro institutions as well. . . .

Most studies on the subject of student activism have been efforts to understand the social sources of contemporary student activism and its effect on contemporary politics. Perhaps more important is the need to evaluate the long-term effects of heightened periods of activism on the outlook of future generations. Since the various elites are necessarily recruited from student populations, the campus mood of a given period may have its most significant impact on national policy two or three decades later. This has led some students of politics to stress the concept of the political generation and to suggest that those who come of age under conditions of war, depression, civil strife, and the like will continue to react in terms of their early beliefs for the rest of their lives.

Although many persons assume systematic changes in political outlook with increased age, we as yet have little reliable information on the extent to which youthful activists, whether conservatives or radicals, change.

Seymour Martin Lipset, Ph.D., is Professor of Government and Social Relations at Harvard University .



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